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HENRY HOARE'S PARADISE

KENNETH WOODBRIDGE

... tho' you trod the enchanting paths of paradise.
... it is a pattern of perfection.
(Henry Hoare, on Stourhead, to his nephew Richard,
January, 1755)

I

IN the early eighteenth century Henry Hoare, the banker, built a Palladian Villa near the old manor house of Stourton on the Dorset border of Wiltshire (Fig. 1). He called the place "Stourhead," from the springs of the river Stour in the valley below. His son, Henry "the Magnificent," completed the house and dammed the valley to form a lake, around which he made a landscape garden famous in his day and now one of the most perfect survivors of its kind. The house stands on high level ground overlooking the bare Wiltshire downs, its original appearance altered by the addition of wings and a portico (Fig. 5). Some three hundred yards to the west, at a place traditionally known as Paradise,¹ the ground falls steeply into the valley where the lake is situated. This can also be approached by a road which descends dramatically from the bleak upper landscape into the lush atmosphere of the garden, where the planting of the hillsides increases the height and the impression of being in a hollow. The walk round the garden is planned as a sequence to be correctly followed, with calculated vistas and surprises. To the left of the present entrance is the mediaeval cross (Fig. 8) moved from Bristol in 1765.² The main features of the garden are earlier than this. The path goes to the right, with a view of the Pantheon across the water (Fig. 10), and almost immediately passes the Temple of Flora (Fig. 11), shaded by beech and half buried in rhododendron and yew. A Roman Doric portico leads to a room. A large white urn, with a bacchanalian relief, stands on a pedestal opposite the entrance. On either side are the marble busts of two young men, one Baroque (Fig. 13) and the other classical (Fig. 14). To left and right are circular niches containing female busts, beneath which are wooden altars flanked by thrones (Fig. 12). Dry leaves lie on the stone floor and there is an earthy smell of many autumns. The urn, the thrones, the marble busts are like properties for some forgotten play from which the actors have long departed. The inscription over the door reads, *Procul, o procul este profani*. Below the Temple of Flora is another stone urn (Fig. 9) which stands on a brick arch of recent design. Nearby, over the water, are the remains of a stone arch which once enclosed the spring known as Paradise Well. Continuing toward the north there is a dramatic change from light to dark when the path enters a coniferous plantation (Fig. 17). Here the lake and the Pantheon are lost and there is an outward look up a desolate valley where,

1. Documentary material is from five sources. Reference to these is abbreviated as follows:

Documents at StourheadST
Documents at the County Record Office, County Hall, Trowbridge.

The Stourhead ArchiveT(ST)
The Tottenham House ArchiveT(TOT)
Documents from Tottenham House in the possession of the Marquess of Ailesbury, Sturmy House, Savernake, WiltshireTOT
Documents at Hoare and Co.'s bank, 37 Fleet Street, London, E.C.4.FS

An agreement for Joseph Andrews to install an engine to pump water to the house of Stourhead, dated Jan. 9, 1724, contains the phrase "from Withy bed pond to Ye top of

Parradice Coppice." T(ST) 383.57. See also "Paradise Temple," "Paradise Well" on Modern Ordnance Survey Sheet ST 73 SE (1962).

2. This is earlier than the date usually given. There are two Bristol crosses at Stourhead, the High Cross and Saint Peter's Pump. Extracts from "The Annals of Bristol" by John Latimer, Editor of *The Bristol Mercury*, 1858-1883, say that the High Cross was transported to Stourhead in 1764. Saint Peter's Pump was removed by an Act of Parliament of 1765 and taken to Stourhead in 1766, T(ST) 383.907. Henry Hoare wrote to his son-in-law, Lord Bruce, on Dec. 9, 1765, saying "the Cross is now in hand" T(TOT). This must be the High Cross. The letter is quoted more fully below.

out of sight, another mediaeval Bristol monument, Saint Peter's Pump,³ stands over another of the springs of the Stour. Turning back along the second arm of the triangle each new experience of the way is obscured by turns of the path, until suddenly it plunges into the Grotto which is set at an angle to it. A flint lined passage (Fig. 20) leads to a domed central chamber, about eighteen and a half feet in diameter, with tufa walls and a pebble floor (Fig. 16). To the right, in a deep recess, is the statue of a nymph (Fig. 18), known as Cleopatra⁴ but actually a rendering of the Vatican *Ariadne*. Ahead, across an opening, is the statue of a river god (Fig. 22), in a rock-work cave. One hand is upraised; spring water issues from the pitcher on which he is seated. The lighting of these statues is subtly contrived in the Baroque tradition by concealed openings in the roof. The springs of the Stour flow around them and are conveyed into the lake by drains under the pavement. From the grotto there is a framed view of Stourton church and the Bristol Cross (Fig. 21). Steep steps spiral up to what is now a grassy platform outside a rustic watch cottage. From here there is the visual shock of coming on the Pantheon at close quarters (Fig. 24), for which the mind is not prepared because there is no intermediate image to relate the scale of the first view to the second. The Pantheon, known as the Temple of Hercules, is the most important building in the garden. Not only does it dominate the first impression of the scene, but it is also a turning point from which, looking back, the Temple of Flora is seen in perspective (Fig. 29). A portico of four Corinthian columns, with closed bays, screens a rotunda. Inside, opposite the entrance is Rysbrack's statue of Hercules (Fig. 30). Six figures in niches line the other walls, five female and one male: Flora, in marble by Rysbrack, an antique Livia Augusta as Ceres, a Meleager by John Cheere, and casts probably also by him. The path from the Pantheon crosses an iron bridge, and makes a short descent below the water level. On the right is another small lake with a waterwheel and a cascade. Thence the journey is mainly in the open, crossing the road to Zeals by a rock-work arch and climbing past a stone recess (all that remains of the Hermitage) to the Temple of Apollo (Fig. 32). This is a circular temple modeled on one at Baalbec. From here the whole garden is apparent (Figs. 34, 37) and the Obelisk which stands to the north of the house is visible (Fig. 36). It is perhaps the only feature which can be seen both from the house and the garden and is therefore the visual link between them. The return is by a grotto under the road and across a turf bridge to a point just above the Temple of Flora.

According to his grandson, Sir Richard Colt Hoare,⁵ Henry Hoare designed the garden himself without professional assistance. If so he possessed visual sensibility and imagination of a high order. The paintings of Claude Lorrain are said to have inspired him; but it has recently been suggested that his garden bears more resemblance to the landscapes of Nicolas Poussin. Stourhead has often been referred to and described (Hussey, 1938, 1951;⁶ Lees-Milne, 1961;⁷ Siren, 1950⁸), yet in 1960 Hadfield⁹ admitted that little was known about its origins. The evidence which is now available is cumulative and suggestive rather than conclusive, especially concerning the early stages. It points to the inspiration of Claude and Virgil, in the first place, of Gaspar Poussin and the Palladians with perhaps a more romantic emphasis as Henry Hoare grew older. Above all it gives a picture of his character and interests. In order to understand these and his activities as a creator, patron and collector we have to see him as a man with a particular inheritance, the third generation of a rising family of bankers in a country where land and title were pre-

3. See note 2.

4. "Cleopatra without the asp." Horace Walpole, "Visits to Country Seats," *Walpole Society*, XVI, 1927-1928, p. 43. The section of the Grotto by the Swedish artist, F. M. Piper (Fig. 24), has a note, "opening throwing light on the Statue of Cleopatra at P., call'd the Sleeping Nymph."

5. Sir Richard Colt Hoare, *History of Modern Wiltshire*, London, 1822, I, p. 63.

6. Christopher Hussey, "The Gardens of Stourhead," *Coun-*

try Life, LXXXIII, 1938, p. 2161. "Stourhead," CLX, 1951, p. 38.

7. J. Lees-Milne, *Stourhead*, 6th ed., Country Life for the National Trust, 1961.

8. Oswald Siren, *China and the Gardens of Europe in the 18th Century*, New York, 1950.

9. Miles Hadfield, *Gardening in Britain*, London, 1960, p. 208.

eminently significant. The energy which produced the transformation of the landscape in eighteenth century England was prodigious, comparable, it could be said, to that which had created the great monuments of Gothic art. It was, moreover, a critical time in the formation of our concepts about the art of painting when, as Hussey has said, "the relation of all the arts to one another, through the pictorial appreciation of nature, was so close that poetry, painting, gardening, architecture and the art of travel may be said to have been fused into the single 'art of landscape'."¹⁰ What part did Henry Hoare play in this "prelude to romanticism" when art was shifting "its appeal from the reason to the imagination," from knowledge to sensation?

The fortune of the Hoare family was established by Richard Hoare, goldsmith. In 1673 he set up business as a banker at the Sign of the Golden Bottle in Cheapside, joining his cousin James, whose father held the office of Surveyor of the Meltings and Clerk of the Irons at the Mint. A Tory and a strong opponent of the founding of the Bank of England by the Whigs, Richard Hoare was knighted by Queen Anne on her succession. Shortly after, the account of the Privy Purse was transferred to his bank by Lord Masham. When he moved to Fleet Street Sir Richard's business extended rapidly. Many distinguished names, Whig and Tory, appear in the early ledgers. One of these was Sir William Benson whose son, Wren's ill-fated successor, was possibly a formative influence in the life of Sir Richard's grandson.

The banker's sons were placed with merchants in Genoa, Amsterdam, and Hamburg, a practical education where they learned French and Dutch besides accounting; and a liberal one giving social advantages which would assist business. His letters show him to have been a man of simple tastes, strongly patriarchal and protestant. He wrote in 1701 to John in Genoa, "I hope you are constant and diligent in the performance of your duty to God and that you avoid all disputes about matters of religion with those that are of a contrary to yourself . . ."¹¹ and when he heard John proposed to go to Rome "I think it will not be convenient for you to go thither unless you can find out some sober good-humour'd gentleman to beare you company, and I doe not question but you will take care to preserve yourself from the infection from the Religion of the country."¹² "I have writ to your masters," he wrote three months later "desiring them to give you leave to goe and see some other places in Italy and elsewhere if their business will permit. I doe think it will be not convenient for you to travel without the company of one or two gentlemen, but be sure to make choice of such as are of good reputation and not given to drunken or other vices and be sure at all times to keep out of the company of women that you have the least reason to suspect to be given to vice or any lewdness. I will not confine you to see particular places but leave you to your liberty to go to such places as you are most inclinable to see. I have directed your masters to give you credit to the value of two hundred pounds because I would have you buy me some small pieces of painting of about eighteen inches to twenty-four inches but let them be good of the sort for I doe not care for bad paintings; and if you see any sorts of silks that are very Pritte and fit for the use of your mother or sisters I would have you buy them, as also any Fanns or other things that you think may be acceptable to your friends in England. Before you goe from Genoa, take a servant . . . but let him be a protestant, if one is to be had."¹³ He hankered, too, after a garden. "Let me know the prices of orange, lemon and cittern trees that are very good that can be sent over safely, for we are intending to take a house in the country and shall have occasion for such sort of furniture for a garden."¹⁴ Six months later, "I shall not trouble you to send me any orange or lemon trees, nor tube roses, but if you can, send me some roots of fine flowers or anything that keep green all the year." "I have taken a house about ten miles from London but cannot be certain at present to have it any longer than three years and there is not any greenhouse

10. C. Hussey, *The Picturesque*, London, 1927, p. 4.

11. Sir Richard Hoare (1648-1718), letter to John Hoare, Aug. 1, 1701. Book of manuscript copies of letters. ST.

12. R. H. to J. H., Sept. 1, 1704. ST.

13. R. H. to J. H., Dec. 1, 1704. ST.

14. R. H. to J. H., Aug. 1, 1702. ST.

belonging to it and I shall not build one unless I can have it to be my owne."¹⁵ But the following year, "your mother and sister have been in the country for some time and will be there all this Summer." "The ship with roots from Holland is captured by the French! So my garden will not be so good as I intended."¹⁶

Henry, the second of Sir Richard's sons, was born in 1677 and was in his middle twenties when the letters quoted above were written. Known as "Good Henry" to distinguish him from the many other Henry Hoares, and particularly from his son "Henry the Magnificent," he was an active supporter of charitable causes and the founder of a hospital. It is not unreasonable to suppose that he was somewhat in awe of his father and identified himself with that highly moral side which Sir Richard is seen to have possessed. One of his first acts after his father's death in 1718 was to purchase the manor of Stourton in Wiltshire from his brother's trustees. His motives for doing so were probably social and political; the act of a man converting wealth to power, in the established way, by the purchase of land. It is also probable that he was looking for an investment for the substantial profit he had made by selling his shares in the South Sea Company, of which Sir Richard had been a director, before disaster overtook the market. The choice of Wiltshire was, so far as we know, fortuitous, although Henry's brother-in-law was William Benson who had, in 1710, built for himself, "in the style of Inigo Jones,"¹⁷ Wilbury House, near Newton Toney in that county. Summerson¹⁸ regards this as the earliest evidence of an Inigo Jones revival, and includes Benson with Colen Campbell, Giacomo Leoni and Nicholas Dubois as responsible for the inauguration of the Palladian movement. It was thus that Henry Hoare I became one of the first patrons of the new style. Benson, when he succeeded Sir Christopher Wren as Surveyor in 1718, brought in Colen Campbell as his deputy. When Benson was disgraced the following year, Campbell of course followed him. Shortly afterwards Campbell was commissioned by Henry Hoare to design him a house in place of the old manorhouse of Stourton.

Compared with Wanstead, which Campbell had designed for Sir Richard Child, Stourhead was a place of modest size; not a great house but a villa, as Summerson points out, deriving both in plan (Fig. 7) and elevation (Fig. 6) from the one which Palladio designed for Leonardo Emo at Fanzolo.¹⁹ How Henry Hoare I regarded Stourhead is not known. He was active as a banker and in the doing of good works and he hardly survived its completion. He was no Whig and it is unlikely that he was drawn to the style for philosophic reasons. Fashion more probably influenced his choice, setting a seal on his newly acquired status. On the other hand an idealized Roman villa suitable for a gentleman philosopher honoring a contemplative life in rural surroundings would doubtless have appealed to Benson, who is known to have admired Virgil and Milton and to have encouraged Christopher Pitt's translation of the *Aeneid*. Why the Palladian canon should have had a particular appeal in 1720 has been a subject for speculation. "After the prolonged political and religious crises of the Stuart epoch, an equally long period of stability, under laws of a generally liberal character, was no bad thing even at the price of some stagnation."²⁰ There were characteristics of the Palladian style which accorded with the temper of the times. In the first place, the outside of Stourhead is "masculine and unaffected."²¹ Inside there is a greater degree of ornamentation, but behind the appearance is the rational measure harmonizing the parts of the building with one another. Indeed "... the systematic linking of one room to the other by harmonic proportions was the fundamental novelty of Palladio's architecture . . .,"²² especially for domestic buildings. The measurements given by Colt Hoare²³ are: hall, a thirty-

15. R. H. to J. H., Jan. 1, 1702. ST.

16. R. H. to J. H., Apr. 23, 1703. ST.

17. Sir John Summerson, *Architecture in Britain 1530-1830*, 4th ed., London, 1963, p. 190.

18. Summerson, *op.cit.*, p. 191.

19. Summerson, *op.cit.*, p. 196.

20. G. M. Trevelyan, *History of England*, London, 1929,

p. 507.

21. Inigo Jones, quoted by Summerson, *Architecture in Britain 1530-1830*, p. 67.

22. Rudolf Wittkower, *Architectural Principles in the Age of Humanism*, London, 1952, p. 113.

23. Colt Hoare, *History of Modern Wiltshire*, pp. 70ff. The present house differs in detail from the plan shown in

foot cube; music room, thirty by twenty feet; cabinet room, thirty by twenty feet; dining room, twenty-five by twenty feet; saloon, originally thirty by thirty feet. These proportions are similar to those used by Palladio in the Palazzo Porto-Colleoni²⁴ at Vicenza, a building whose design Campbell had recently used in remodeling Burlington House. The genesis of Palladio's ideas on proportion has been fully examined by Wittkower.²⁵ The doctrine of the mathematical universe was a recurring theme. An explanation for the appeal of such a system is suggested by Bertrand Russell. "Mathematics is, I believe, the chief source of the belief in the eternal and exact truth as well as in a supersensible intelligible world. Geometry deals with exact circles, but no sensible object is *exactly* circular; however carefully we may use our compasses, there will be some imperfections and irregularities. This suggests the view that all exact reasoning applies to ideal as opposed to sensible objects; it is natural to go further and to argue that thought is nobler than sense, and objects of thought more real than those of sense perception."²⁶ It was precisely the idea that beauty is related to mathematics which was attacked by Hogarth, Hume and Burke, the spokesmen for Henry Hoare II's perhaps more secure generation. In the visual arts at any rate the sensory qualities of objects played an increasing part in addressing the passions.

The other distinguishing feature of the Palladian style is the treatment of the façade. Palladio "was the first consistently to graft the temple front onto the wall of the house," being led "to enoble aristocratic domestic architecture by using the principle of ancient sacred architecture"²⁷ by the belief that the form of Roman temples was derived from private houses. At Stourhead an engaged portico was substituted for Campbell's original intention, as shown in *Vitruvius Britannicus*; the present one was added in 1840. It is an intriguing coincidence that in England the private house should adopt the form of a pagan temple at a time when private conscience in religious matters was an issue. Not that Henry Hoare was anything but a churchman. Nevertheless Stourhead was part of a movement away from church building to house building, a change in the realities of power which also corresponded to a rejection of the Gothic form. It is interesting to note the terms in which, as late as 1733, the citizens of Bristol petitioned for the removal of the Cross (Fig. 8) which was later to be re-erected at Stourhead. "It hath been insinuated by some this Cross, on account of its antiquity, ought to be lookt upon as something sacred. But when we consider that we are Protestants and that Popery ought effectually to be guarded against in this nation, we make our request to you to consider if the opening of a passage to four of the principal streets in this city ought not to outweigh anything that can be said for the keeping up of a ruinous and superstitious relick, which is at present a public nuisance."²⁸

Colt Hoare, in his *History of Modern Wiltshire*, wrote that when the house was first built "a greater degree of formality prevailed in the disposition of the ground immediately around the house . . . the immediate precinct of the mansion was surrounded with walls, and decorated with fountains. . . . Its formality was somewhat diminished by the second possessor and my worthy predecessor, Henry Hoare Esq."²⁹ A map of 1722 (Fig. 2)³⁰ shows the house with a formal forecourt to the south and probably kitchen gardens to the west. Two large ponds fill much of the valley in which the lake is now situated.

Vitruvius Britannicus. Much of the interior of the central part was rebuilt following a fire in the early part of the century.

24. Wittkower, *op.cit.*, p. 115.

25. Wittkower, *op.cit.*, pp. 51ff.

26. Bertrand Russell, *A History of Western Philosophy*, London, 1946, p. 55.

27. Wittkower, *op.cit.*, p. 66. Palladio, Book II (quoted): "I have made the frontispiece [i.e., the pediment of the portico] in the main front of all the villas and also in some town houses . . . because such frontispieces show the entrance of the house, and add very much to the grandeur and magnificence of the work, the front being thus made more eminent

than the rest; besides, they are very commodious for placing the ensigns or arms of the owners, which are commonly put in the middle of the front. The ancients also made use of them in their buildings, as is seen in the remains of the temples, and other public edifices, and, as I have said in the preface to the first book, they very probably took the invention and the principles [of them] from private buildings, i.e. from the houses."

28. Minutes of a meeting of the Council on July 21, 1733, quoted by John Latimer. T(ST) 383.907.

29. Colt Hoare, *op.cit.*, p. 63.

30. T(ST) 383.316.

Henry Hoare II, eldest son of "Good" Henry, was born on the 7th of July, 1705. It is likely, though not recorded, that he spent his childhood in the family residence in Fleet Street; or perhaps in the house his grandfather had rented about ten miles away. His character in later life suggests the strongly patriarchal influence of someone like Sir Richard, a man of strong feelings and at the same time scrupulously businesslike. On his father's death young Henry (from now on referred to as Henry Hoare) succeeded to the business. He was then nineteen. The only partner was his uncle Benjamin, with whom he is shown by John Wootton³¹ in the hunting scene in the small dining room at Stourhead. When he was twenty-one he married Ann, the elder daughter of Lord Masham. The portrait (Fig. 44) by Wootton and Dahl, which dominates the thirty-foot cube of the hall, dates from this time. Dressed in a red and gold coat and holding a whip he sits upright on a rearing life-size horse. The scale belongs to the room and the energy, ambition and swagger to youth. If it is difficult to see the banker, the life-style, from which he became known as "the Magnificent," is there. Ann died in childbirth the March following their marriage. Just over a year later Henry married Susan, daughter and heiress of Stephen Colt of Clapham.

They did not yet live at Stourhead, which had been left to his mother for her lifetime. It is nevertheless probable that Henry was often there and was actively concerned in completing the house. His private accounts³² show that between 1726 and 1734 he spent about £10,000 on building and £3,000 on furniture. He told his grandson that he spent his early manhood at Quarley, in Hampshire, hunting and drinking with other young men of his age. He was a good horseman and a good shot; but he had to give up a "gay and dissolute style of life" because it was affecting his health.³³

In 1734 he bought Wilbury from his uncle, William Benson, for £14,000.³⁴ It seems more than likely that Benson's cultural influence was decisive for Stourhead. As will be shown, the inspiration of Virgil (to say nothing of Milton) was an important one for the garden. Who but Benson, with his known interest in these authors, would have introduced Henry to them? The artists whom Henry consistently employed up to their death, Wootton, Rysbrack and Flitcroft, were, moreover, of Benson's circle; Wootton and Flitcroft banked at Hoare's. Rysbrack's earliest recorded commissions for Stourhead were for "a bust of Inigo Jones in statuary marble" and "two figures of Inigo Jones and Palladio in plaster."³⁵ In 1738 Benson commemorated Milton by a commission to Rysbrack for a bust in Westminster Abbey;³⁶ at the same time he had from the sculptor busts of the young and old Milton which are now at Stourhead. The first entry recording payment to a painter is to "John Wootton in full," £53. 14. 0. on July 13, 1725.³⁷ Wootton was then in his forties and known chiefly as a painter of horses. He had lately been in Rome and on his return, having fallen under the spell of Claude and Gaspar Poussin, he "introduced Gaspar-desque landscapes into the British tradition."³⁸ Even in portraits, like the one of Henry Hoare and his uncle on their horses near an obelisk, the landscape is important.³⁹ There is a receipt from Wootton dated January 9, 1728⁴⁰ for "Pictures painted for Henry Hoare Esq."

31. John Wootton, *A Hunting Group*, Stourhead.

32. Hoare and Co. have, at 37 Fleet Street, ledgers with accounts of Henry Hoare's personal expenditures from 1726 to 1785; and personal account books from 1752-1778, 1778-1783, 1770-1785 (entries in the last two differ). These will be referred to as FS(Acc.). Henry Hoare kept other ledgers of which one, running from 1732 to 1749, entitled "Wilberry accounts," is at Fleet Street and will be referred to as FS(Acc.)W. Another, running from 1749 to 1770 is at Trowbridge, T(ST) 383.6. There are items which appear in the latter ledgers and not in the bank ledgers and vice versa. But some entries are duplicated and are evidently cross entries. The figures for building and furniture are the sum of entries for "balance of building account" and "balance of

furniture account."

33. Colt Hoare, Small ms book of memoirs. ST.

34. May 21, 1734. FS(Acc.).

35. Receipt dated April 9, 1729. T(ST) 383.4.

36. Rupert Gunnis, *Dictionary of British Sculptors, 1660-1851*, London, 1953, p. 112.

37. FS(Acc.).

38. E. K. Waterhouse, *Painting in Britain 1530-1790*, London, 1953, p. 114.

39. John Wootton, *A Hunting Scene*, Stourhead. Constable was very contemptuous of Wootton who, he said, "painted country gentlemen in their wigs and jockey caps, and top-boots, with packs of hounds, and placed them in Italian landscapes resembling those of Gaspar Poussin, except in

| | |
|--|-------------|
| A large landscape | £73. 10. 0. |
| A sketch of the Bloody Shoulder'd Arabian Horse | £15. 15. 0. |
| A small landscape at Sunsett | £10. 10. 0. |

Between 1725 and 1734 Henry paid Wootton six sums ranging from £63 to £21;⁴¹ subsequently, up to the painter's death, there were more commissions, mainly, it appears, for landscapes. When Horace Walpole visited Stourhead in 1762 he noted eight paintings by Wootton and not more than two by any one other artist. Altogether it is possible to name twelve paintings of his that were at one time there.⁴² In 1728 Richard Wilson was fourteen and had not yet left Montgomeryshire. Wootton has therefore a claim to be the first English landscape painter. Was it he who aroused Henry Hoare's interest in the vision of Claude and Gaspar? The only other painter, apart from the portrait painters Hissing and Dahl, with whom Henry seems to have dealt in this early period is Arthur Pond, from whom in 1727 he bought "two views of Venice," "two views of Rome," a picture of "the Cascade of Tivoli" and "The Ruins of Rome" by Gio. Paolo Pannini.⁴³ Pond at this time was only twenty-two; he continued to receive commissions until his death in 1755, and is now represented at Stourhead only by an indifferent portrait of Henry's daughter, Susanna (Lady Ailesbury).

Sometime, probably about 1737, Henry Hoare went abroad⁴⁴ for a long period and started to study paintings seriously. In 1739 and 1740 he paid some £3,750 to agents⁴⁵ through whom he bought works of art, and it may be assumed that much of this sum was spent on paintings. Customs charges were paid in 1739 for "2 pictures"⁴⁶ and in 1740 for "figures etc. from Leghorn"⁴⁷ and for "2 cases of pictures from Mr. Smith of Venice."⁴⁸ The scale of these purchases, which was never again so great, suggests that they were intended to establish a collection. It is impossible to say for certain what the paintings were. Walpole⁴⁹ later mentioned pictures by Annibale Carracci, Domenichino, Dolci and Maratta; two by Nicolas Poussin and one by Gaspar; one by Claude and two by Rembrandt; two by Sebastiano Ricci; Italian scenes by Marco Ricci, Pannini, Canaletto and Anesi; and various other paintings by seventeenth and early eighteenth century masters. There were also in the saloon, originally intended as a chapel, copies of large mythological subjects after Reni and Guercino.

Meanwhile, as throughout his life, Henry Hoare attended to the business in Fleet Street. During the leisure hours which he spent in residence there, he acquired the habit "of looking into books and the pursuit of that knowledge which distinguishes only the Gentleman from the Vulgar and teaches him to adorn the fortune he acquires or possesses and which, without the lessons in History (which is philosophy teaching by example) the most envied Height of Fortune will not be enjoyed."⁵⁰ This was part of the advice he passed on, long after, to his nephew Richard. At first, until he had worked himself "by habit into a love of reading," he used to "murder" his "sweet precious time in looking at the insensible Vulgar who passed under the window."⁵¹

truth and force." C. R. Leslie, *Memoirs of the Life of John Constable*, Phaidon ed., London, 1951, p. 320.

40. T(ST) 383.4. 41. FS(Acc.).

42. There are four main sources for this information: Horace Walpole, "Visits to Country Seats," *Walpole Society*, xvi, 1927-1928, pp. 41, 42; the "Schedule of pictures at Stourhead as left by Henry Hoare," a manuscript list by Sir Richard Colt Hoare, T(ST); and his *History of Modern Wiltshire*. Walpole's list includes the following by Wootton: *Mr. Henry Hoare on a White Horse*; *Pyramus and Thisbe*, a view of Babylon and the Tomb of Ninus in a landscape; *Sea Prospect*; *Sun-set*; *Sir Richard Hoare on Horseback as Lord Mayor*; companion to a painting by Claude Lorrain; large landscape and figures; *Death of Phocion*. Colt Hoare, in addition to the above lists another *Sun-set*, and a *Land Storm*. There are also at present in the house *A Hunting Scene* (por-

traits of Henry Hoare and Benjamin Hoare on horseback near an obelisk) and the sketch of the *Bloody Shoulder'd Arabian Horse* mentioned in the receipt (note 40).

43. Receipt dated Jan. 15, 1727. T(ST) 383.4.

44. Colt Hoare, ms memoirs. ST.

45. Sir John Lambert; Vernet Whately and Co.; G. Beloni; Peter Meyer and Co. FS(Acc.).

46. Nov. 6, 1739. FS(Acc.).

47. June 19, 1740. FS(Acc.).

48. Presumably Consul Joseph Smith. Jan. 20, 1740. FS(Acc.).

49. Horace Walpole, "Visits to Country Seats," pp. 41, 42.

50. Letter from Henry Hoare to his nephew and prospective son-in-law, Richard Hoare (father of Richard Colt Hoare), Dec. 1755. FS.

51. Letter H. H. to R. H., Dec. 1755. FS.

Wealthy, with a growing family of two sons and two daughters, Henry, at the beginning of 1740, must have been at "the height of fortune." In that year, however, his younger son died at the age of seven. He had lost Ann's daughter in 1735. It was the beginning of a series of bereavements which touched him deeply and which followed regularly through the remainder of his long life. After his mother's death in 1741 he took up residence more or less permanently at Stourhead. Hardly had he begun to look forward to living in that place when, in 1743, Susan died, leaving him with a son of thirteen and two small girls of eleven and six. He did not marry again and these are the circumstances in which he began to make the garden.

II

"The pleasures of the fancy are more conducive to health than those of the understanding," Addison, with pre-Freudian insight, had written in 1712. "Delightful scenes, whether in nature, painting or poetry, have a kindly influence on the body, as well as the mind, and not only serve to clear and brighten the imagination, but are able to disperse grief and melancholy, and to set the animal spirits in pleasing and agreeable motions."⁵² It is interesting to note that work on the contemporary landscape also coincided with the loss of a wife at Hagley, when Sir George Lyttelton's beloved Lucy died in childbirth. Lyttelton's friend and neighbor, William Shenstone, started the transformation of The Leasowes shortly after his mother's death in 1743. And Pope, whose thought and example perhaps provided leaven for the movement, terminated his garden with cypresses leading up to his "mother's tomb."⁵³ Pope indeed was celebrated at Hagley; the urn to his memory is still there, though overturned and fast disappearing into the earth. At Stourhead the inspiration of his grotto is acknowledged, and the wish he expressed in connection with it fulfilled. "It wants nothing to compleat it but a good Statue with an inscription, like that beautiful antique one which you know I am so fond of."

Hujus Nympha loci, sacri custodia fontis
Dormio, dum blandae sentio murmur aquae.
Parce meum, quisquis tangis cava marmora somnum
Rumpere, seu bibas, sive lavere, tace.⁵⁴

Behind Addison and Pope was the philosophers' appeal to a natural order; Shaftesbury's "rude Rocks, the mossy Caverns, the irregular unwrought Grottos and broken falls of water with all the horrid Graces of the Wilderness itself, as representing nature more."⁵⁵ Just as feeling had to be admitted to partnership with reason as a basis for judgment, so nature was to complement the rationality of the Palladian house.

Although the landscape idea had been developing in painting for over two hundred years, it was not a necessary step from the inventions of those painters working in Italy to the planting of the English parkscapes. It is generally agreed that William Kent, friend and associate of Burlington and Pope, provided the visual sensibility that linked the ideas of the painters with those of the poets and philosophers. "The great contribution. . . for which he appears to have been alone responsible, was the realisation that garden and park design, however closely connected in theory with an ideal state of nature or classical antiquity, was essentially a visual matter. . . it was Kent, with his long years of training as a painter, and practice as a collector of paintings, who

52. Joseph Addison, *The Spectator*, No. 411, June 12, 1712.

53. Horace Walpole, "On Modern Gardening," *Anecdotes of Painting*, IV, London, 1786, p. 295.

54. Alexander Pope, letter to Edward Blount, June 2, 1725. *Correspondence*, G. Sherburn, ed., Oxford, 1956, II, p. 297. Concerning the origins of this inscription see Otto Kurz, "Huius Nympha loci," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, XVI, 1953, p. 171. The rendering in the

Grotto at Stourhead reads,

Nymph of the grot these sacred springs I keep
And to the murmur of these waters sleep;
Ah spare my slumbers gently tread the cave,
And drink in silence or in silence lave.

55. Anthony Ashley Cooper, third Earl of Shaftesbury, *Characteristics*, 5th ed., II, 1732-1738, p. 393.

apparently first grasped that the way to bring into being the artist's and philosopher's conception of ideal natural landscape was to study, and to some extent reproduce landscape painting."⁵⁶ In practice Kent must have owed something to Bridgeman and Vanbrugh whom he succeeded at Stowe. Bridgeman is credited with the invention of the ha-ha;⁵⁷ and Vanbrugh with "the approximation of the garden to painted landscape with lakes, vistas, temples and woods worked into a composed whole."⁵⁸ Rousham, in Oxfordshire, which Kent was called upon to redesign about 1739, is considerably more subtle than his Elysian Fields at Stowe. Rousham is largely unaltered; and although it is much smaller than Stourhead, and the site and plan are quite dissimilar, it must be considered a prototype. The circuit walk uses three levels of the steep ground along one bank of the Cherwell. The path turns sharply back on itself and the planting, in which effective use is made of contrasting deciduous forest trees with yew, is contrived to reveal different aspects of the few buildings that there are. But attention is more often directed outward toward the Oxfordshire landscape, and the intention seems entirely pictorial, without such literary and personal references as were made elsewhere. This probably means that General Dormer left more to Kent, whereas, as we shall see, Henry Hoare was personally involved, whatever professional help he may have called on.

Kent's work at Chiswick, Stowe and Rousham was complete before a start was made at Stourhead in 1743-1744. Another innovation, the path "with a continued series of new and delightful scenes at every step . . .," had been made by Philip Southcote at Woburn Farm, near Chertsey, sometime after 1735.⁶⁰ This form, a belt of trees surrounding an estate, was adopted by Shenstone at The Leasowes which, even in its present forlorn state, illustrates how different were the images in its rambling progress from those in the compact circuit round the lake at Stourhead. The latter is nearer to Kent than to Shenstone for reasons which Hadfield makes clear. "Kent strove to create an Elysium; a classical paradise seen through the eyes of a Claude. Southcote's ambition was an arcady: the ideal countryside."⁶¹ Nevertheless, as at Stourhead, there was a right and a wrong way round The Leasowes; and what Shenstone wrote later might well apply to Henry's garden, especially the implied sense of movement. There is room for it "to resemble an epick or dramattick poem," "more striking scenes succeeding those which are less so."⁶² The element of change is here introduced as a principle. It is "not easy to account for fondness of former times . . . for every kind of straight line: where the foot is to travel over what the eye has done before."⁶³ "Lose the object and draw nigh obliquely"⁶⁴ might describe the approach to the Pantheon at Stourhead. But any ideas that Shenstone expressed in his letters and elsewhere would not have been available to Henry Hoare in 1744. That was twelve years before Burke's essay *On the Sublime and the Beautiful*. Lancelot Brown was twenty-nine, still under Kent at Stowe. Shenstone was nine years younger than Henry; and although he frequently exchanged ideas on gardening with his neighbor at Hagley, the only reference to Stourhead in his considerable correspondence was in 1761 to a "Piece of Writing which a Friend of mine sent me. . . partly written in Mr. Hoare's lovely grounds at *Stourton* in Wiltshire."⁶⁵ Sir George Lyttelton, however, had an account at Hoare's Bank from 1751,⁶⁶ the year he succeeded to the baronetcy, until his death in 1773, when Henry recorded, "I grieve for the Loss of my amiable Friend, Lord

56. Christopher Hussey, Introduction to *The Work of William Kent* by M. Jourdain, London, Country Life, 1946, p. 22.

57. According to Horace Walpole; see M. Hadfield, *Gardening in Britain*, p. 183.

58. C. Hussey, *The Picturesque*, p. 128.

59. C. Hussey, "A Georgian Arcady," *Country Life*, June 14, 1946, p. 1084.

60. M. Hadfield (*Gardening in Britain*, p. 199) gives date of purchase as 1735.

61. M. Hadfield, *op.cit.*, p. 200.

62. William Shenstone, "Unconnected thoughts on Gardening," *Works of William Shenstone*, London, 1773, II, p. 114.

63. W. Shenstone, *op.cit.*, p. 115.

64. W. Shenstone, *op.cit.*, p. 116.

65. W. Shenstone, *Letters*, M. Williams, ed., Oxford, 1939, p. 612. The inscription on the pediment of the Grotto at Stourhead, *Intus aquae dulces vivo que sedilia saxo Nympharum domus*, was also on a stone seat at the Leasowes. R. Dodsley, *Description of the Leasowes*, London, 1764. See note 134.

66. Card index of accounts. FS.

Littleton. I feared something was the matter by His not coming here to his promise. His heart was broke."⁶⁷

When Lyttelton was secretary to Frederick, prince of Wales, he had under him Charles Hamilton, whose improvements at Painshill are mentioned by Walpole in 1748.⁶⁸ Hamilton, who was a year older than Henry Hoare, opened an account at Hoare's Bank in 1747,⁶⁹ and in later years, as we shall see, there was exchange of advice and a certain amount of rivalry between the two gardeners.⁷⁰ Painshill's Temple of Bacchus was a building somewhat similar to the Temple of Flora.⁷¹ Both places had a grotto, a hermitage, a tower and a Turkish tent.⁷² Eventually Hamilton overreached himself and toward the end of his life had to sell his property to pay his debts. Part of these were certainly to Hoare's Bank from whom he borrowed £6,000 on mortgage in 1766.⁷³ Lyttelton had borrowed £10,000 the year before,⁷⁴ so there is no doubt that Henry, as a banker, benefited from the master passion and was able to build better (Hamilton's Doric temple was partly lath and plaster).⁷⁵

As a formative influence, however, Burlington's circle seems altogether more significant for Stourhead. Richard Boyle, third Earl of Burlington, had an account with Hoare's Bank from 1717 to 1736,⁷⁶ and between 1721 and 1726 borrowed some £20,000 from it.⁷⁷ It was Flitcroft, another Burlington protégé, whom Henry employed to design his buildings from 1744 onward. Henry Flitcroft was then forty-seven. He was the son of a gardener to William III, and was apprenticed to a joiner, being admitted to the freedom of the Joiner's Company in 1719. In 1720 he came to the notice of Lord Burlington, who employed him as a draftsman and architectural assistant, and through whom in 1726 he became Clerk of the Works at Whitehall. He was thus very closely associated with William Kent, whose drawings for *The Designs of Inigo Jones* he prepared for publication. When Kent died in 1748 Flitcroft succeeded him as Master Mason and Deputy Surveyor.

Before discussing the part Flitcroft may have played in the design of Stourhead, it will perhaps help to review the situation there before work on the garden began. Colt Hoare wrote that he heard his grandfather say "he did not think seriously of improving his place by plantations till he had gained the age of forty years. When he began he proceeded *con spirito* upon a widely extended scale."⁷⁸ Colt Hoare added in his *History of Modern Wiltshire* that Henry "had the good taste and . . . the good sense, not to call in the assistance of a landscape gardener. He saw with his own eye and suggested improvements with his own hands. . . ."⁷⁹ The map of 1722 (Fig. 2) shows that considerable areas of water existed before the lake was made.⁸⁰ In 1754 Dr. Richard Pococke referred to "two large pieces of water which are to be made into one and much enlarged, for which a head is making at great expence."⁸¹ The site for the Grotto was about the springs on the northwest side of this area; that of the Temple of Flora immediately above another

67. Letter from Henry Hoare to Lord Bruce, Aug. 22, 1773. T(TOT).

68. Gordon Nares, "Painshill," *Country Life*, CXXIII, 1958, p. 62.

69. Card index of accounts. FS.

70. Letter from Henry Hoare to his daughter, Lady Bruce, Oct. 23, 1762. TOT.

71. See illustration in O. Siren, *China and the Gardens of Europe in the 18th Century*, pl. 35.

72. The Turkish Tent at Painshill was illustrated by F. M. Piper. The one at Stourhead, judging from Piper's plan and Mrs. Lybbe Powys's description, must have been similar to it. The writer of the guidebook to Stourhead has confused it with the Chinese Umbrella, also illustrated by Piper.

73. Card index of accounts. FS.

74. *Ibid.* FS.

75. See illustration in O. Siren, *op.cit.*, pl. 35.

76. Card index. FS.

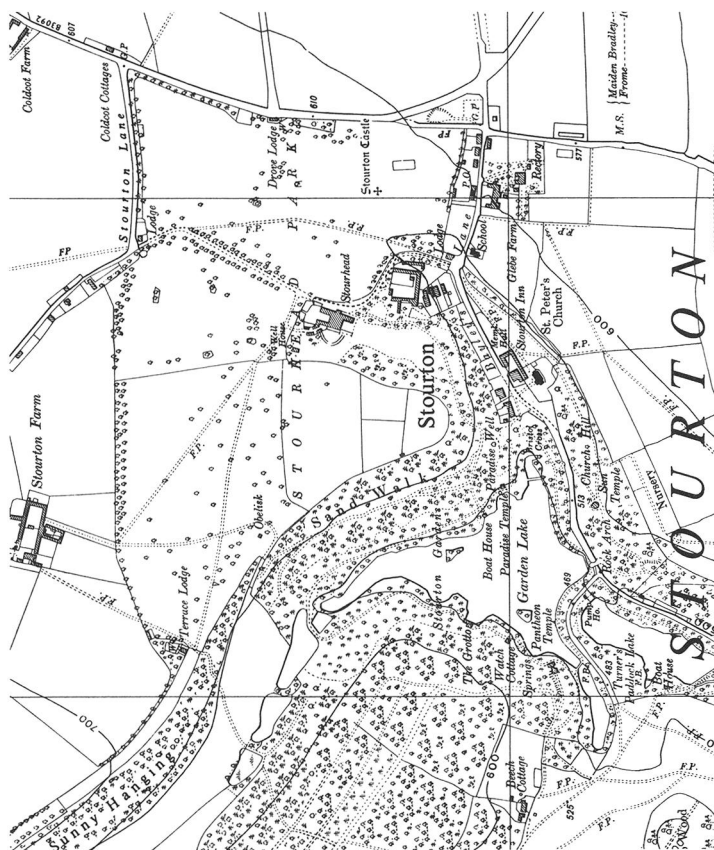
77. *Ibid.* FS.

78. R. Colt Hoare, *MS Memoirs*. ST.

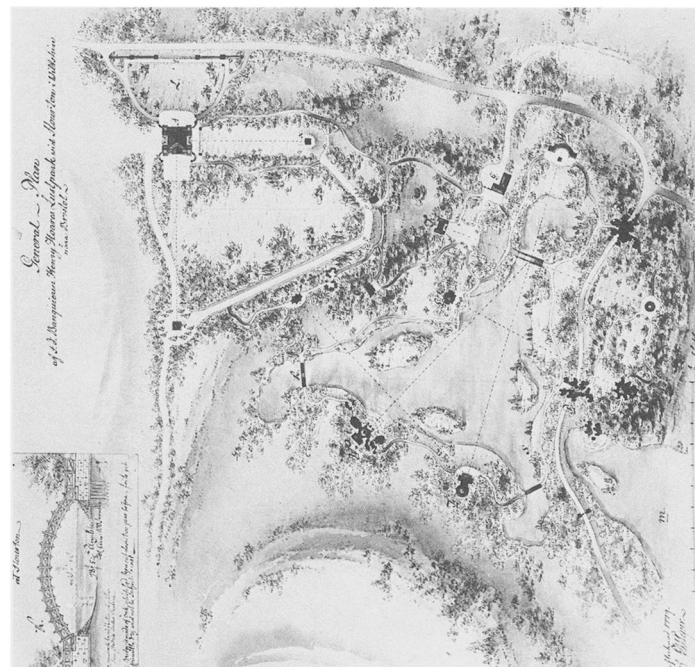
79. R. Colt Hoare, *History of Modern Wiltshire*, p. 63.

80. There are three plans at Stourhead showing an evolution of a garden lake from a straight sided canal to an irregular triangular sheet of water with an island. The first plan is a complete layout for the grounds surrounding a house; the second two, which are derived from it, are of the lake only and by a different hand. Dr. Peter Willis is of the opinion that the original plan could be Bridgeman's style although not typical. Bridgeman worked with Campbell and Flitcroft. Although of interest, the plans cannot be related to the topography of Stourhead, by reason of the scale and by comparison with the map of 1722. It seems obvious that whoever conceived the design of Stourhead started with existing pools of water around the springs at the Grotto and Paradise Well.

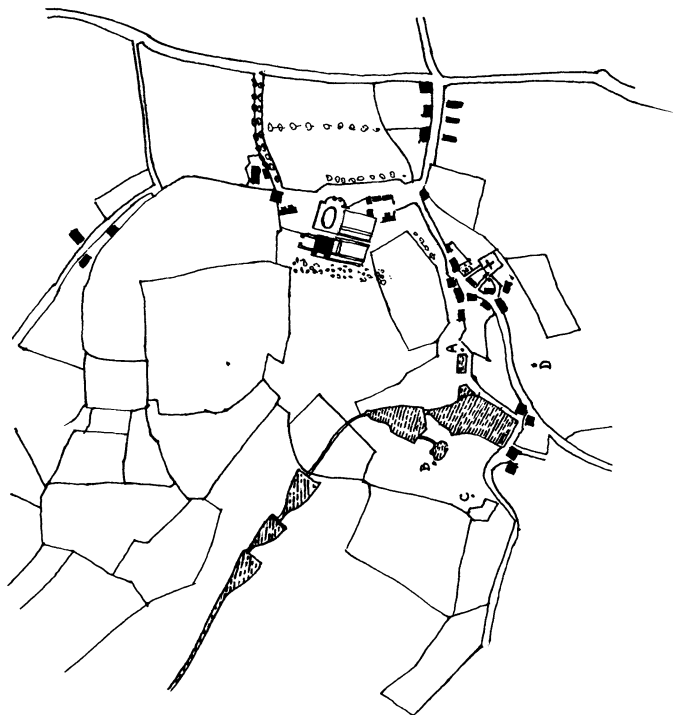
81. R. Pococke, *Travels through England*, J. J. Cartwright, ed., Camden Society, 1889, II, p. 43.



1. Ordnance Survey Map, *House and lake at Stourhead* (detail), 1925, Wilts, LXII 4

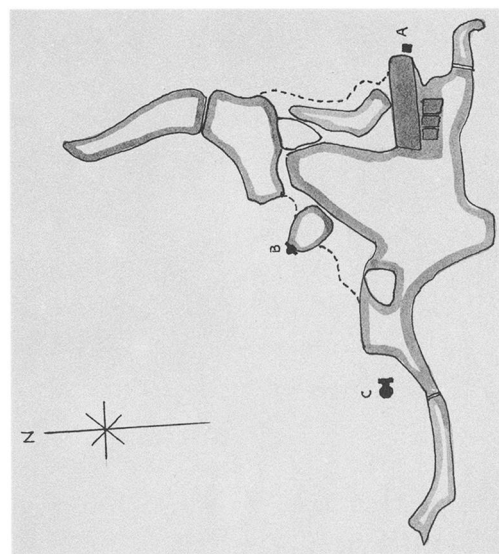


3. F. M. Piper, *General Plan of the Pleasure Garden at Stourton*,



2. Drawing from *Map of Stourton* dated 1722. T(ST) 383.316. The future sites of the main buildings have been added.

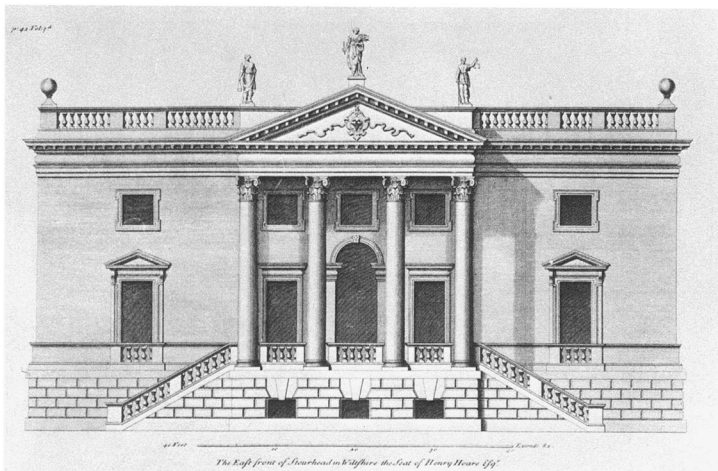
- A. The Temple of Flora
- B. The Grotto
- C. The Pantheon
- D. The Sun Temple



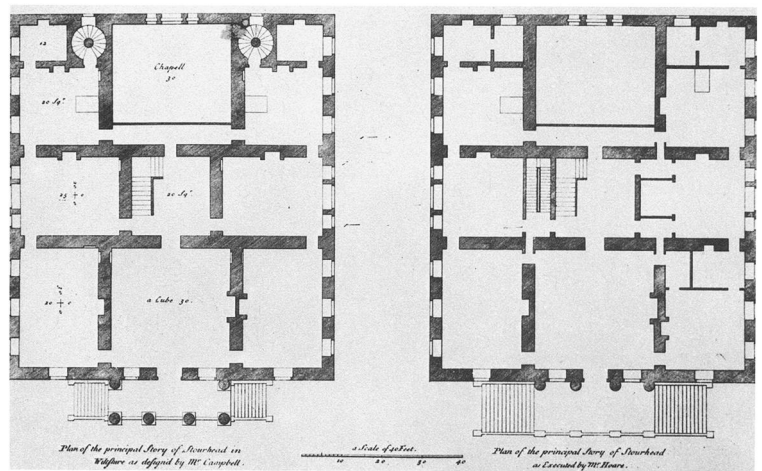
4. *Plan of lake at Stourhead* when empty, 1792, from a drawing in Devises Museum Library. A. The Temple of Flora. B. The Grotto. C. The Pantheon.



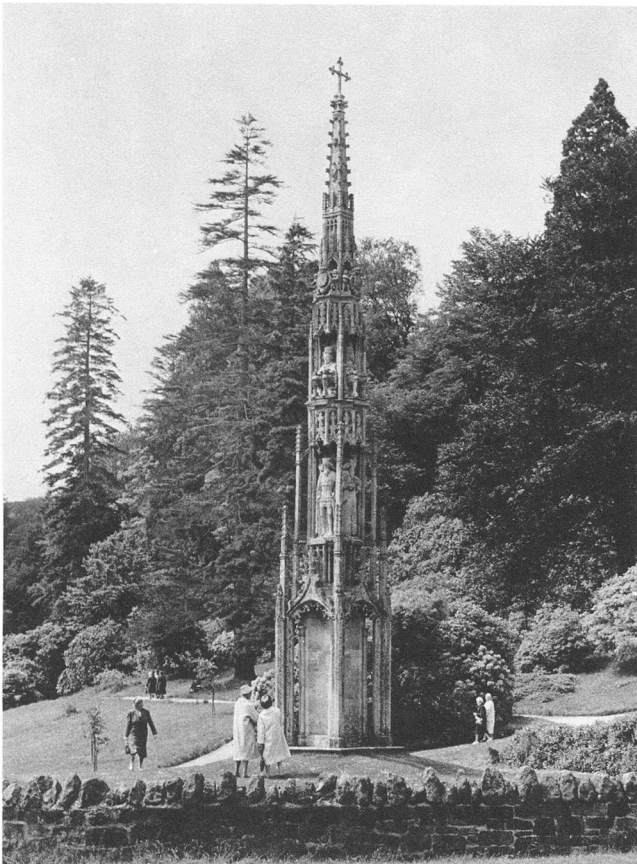
5. Stourhead House, Wiltshire. (photo: K. Woodbridge)



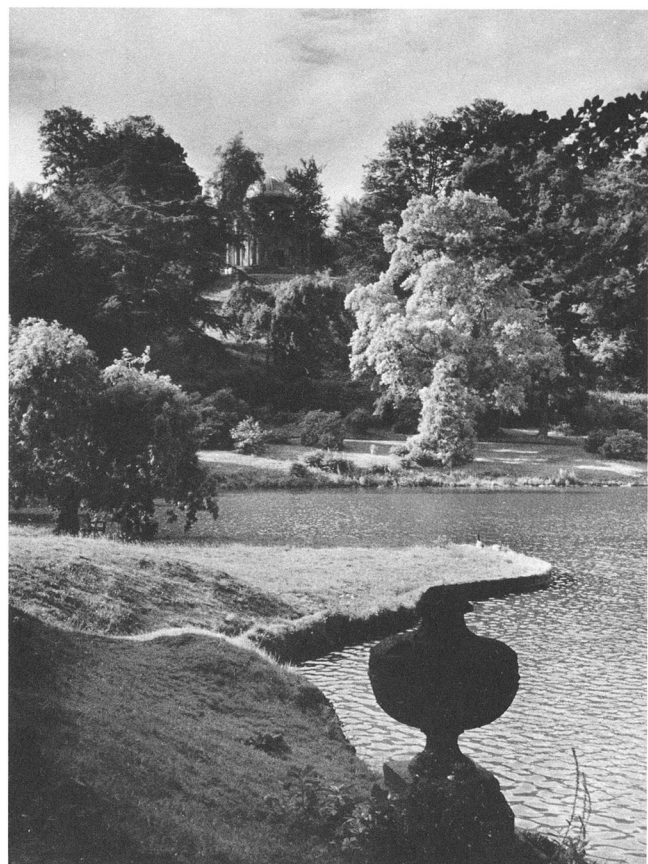
6. Campbell, *Stourhead* (from Vitruvius Britannicus, III, 1725)



7. Campbell, *Stourhead*, Plan



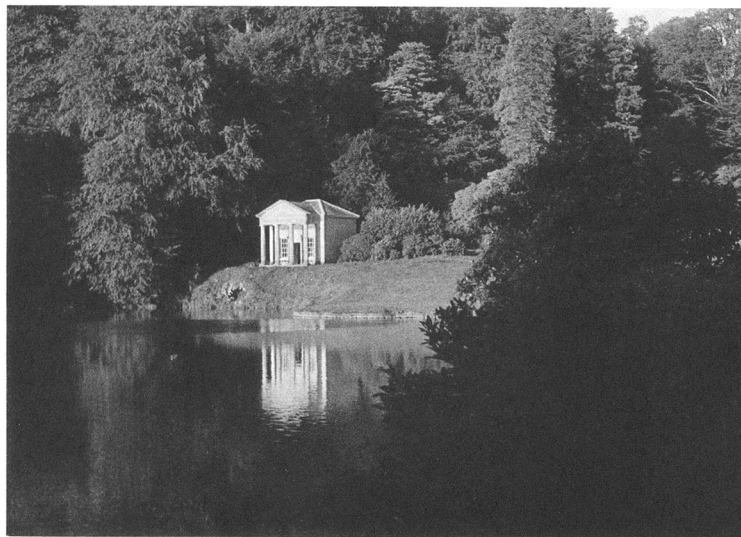
8. The Bristol High Cross, Stourhead (photo: K. Woodbridge)



9. The Temple of Apollo from below the Temple of Flora (photo: K. Woodbridge)



10. View of the Pantheon from above the Temple of Flora
(photo: K. Woodbridge)



11. Flitcroft, *The Temple of Flora*, Stourhead. (photo: K. Woodbridge)
The original arch above Paradise Well can be seen below



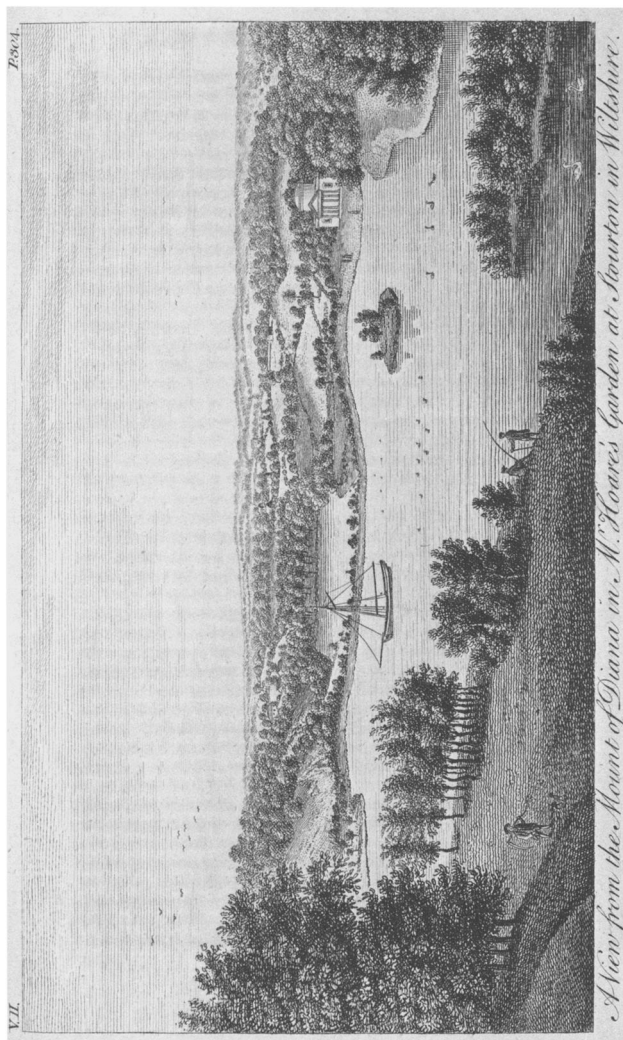
12. *Female bust and throne*, the Temple of Flora, Stourhead
(photo: K. Woodbridge)



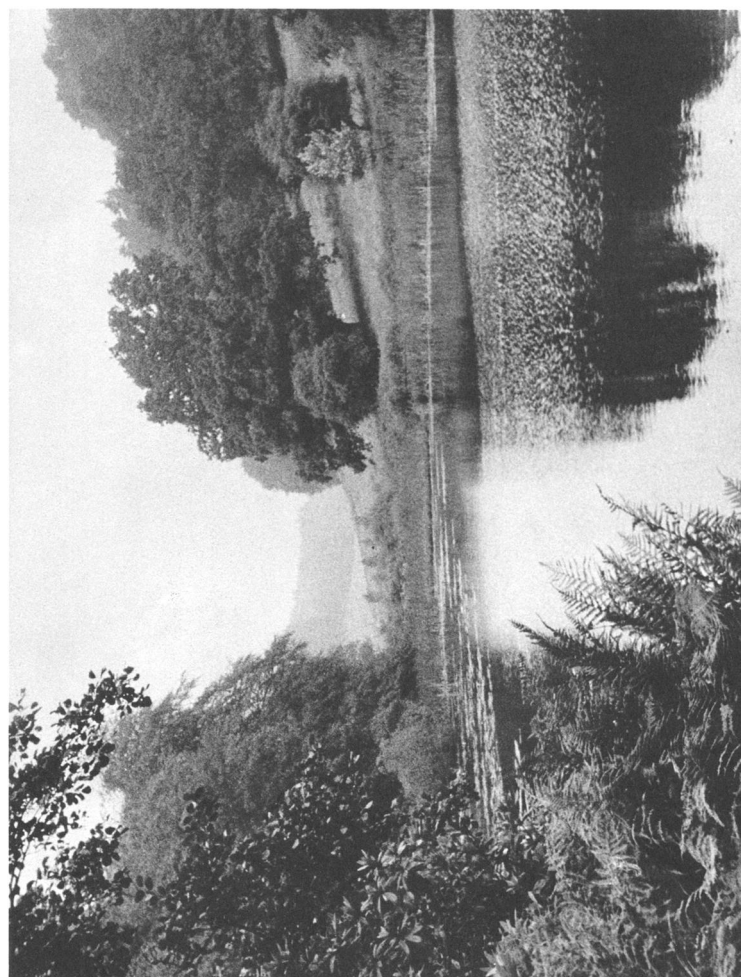
13. *Baroque bust*, the Temple of Flora, Stourhead
(photo: K. Woodbridge)



14. *Classical bust*, the Temple of Flora, Stourhead
(photo: K. Woodbridge)



15. View from the Mount of Diana, engraving ca. 1765. Devises Museum Library



17. Six Wells Bottom, view from the northwest corner of the lake at Stourhead (photo: K. Woodbridge)



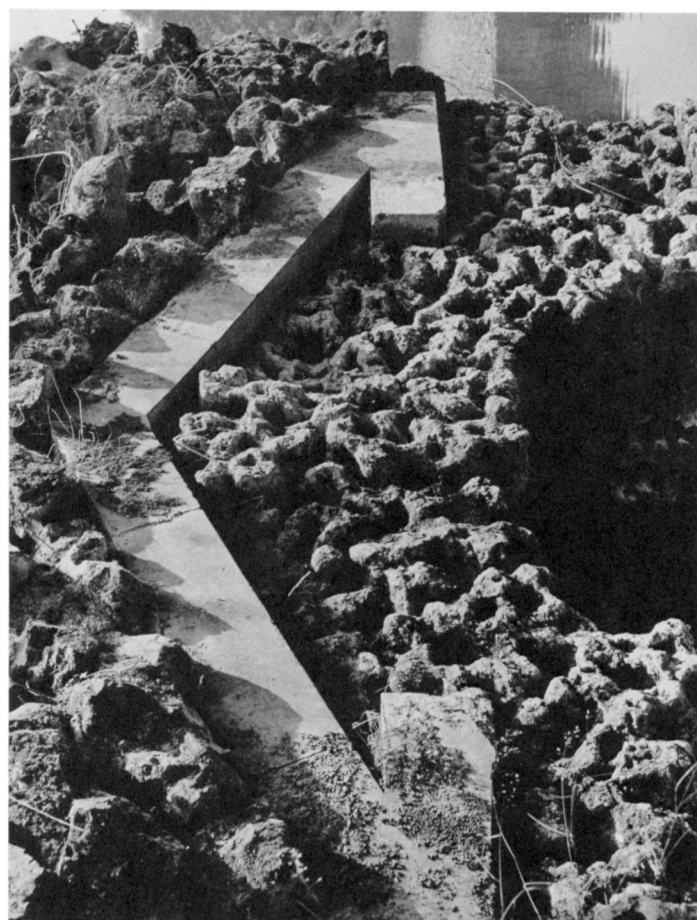
16. Interior of the Grotto, tufa lining and stone courses (photo: K. Woodbridge)



18. *Sleeping Nymph*, attributed to John Cheere, the Grotto, Stourhead (photo: K. Woodbridge)



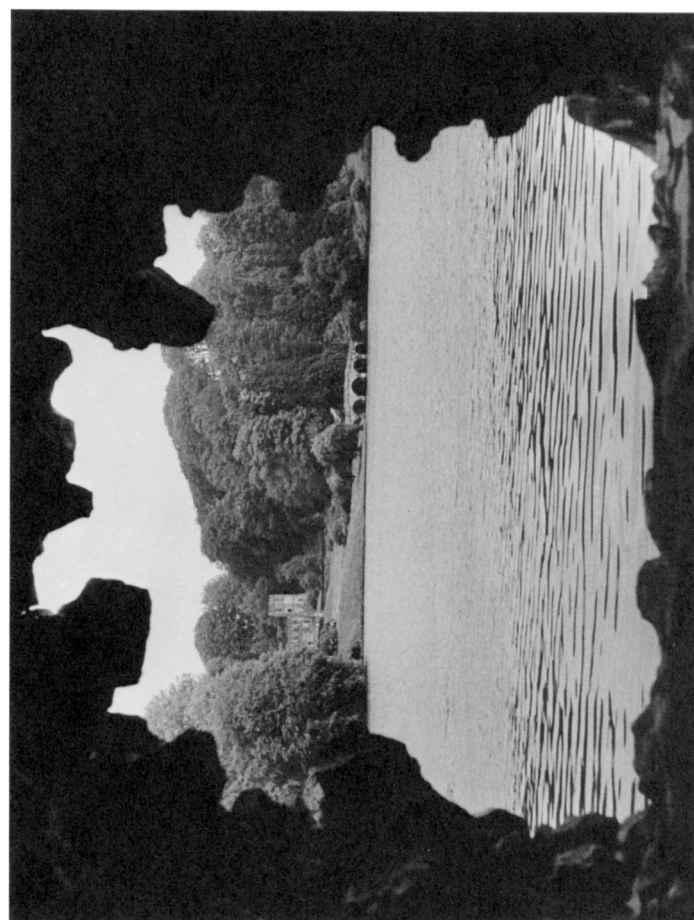
20. Entrance to the Grotto (photo: K. Woodbridge)



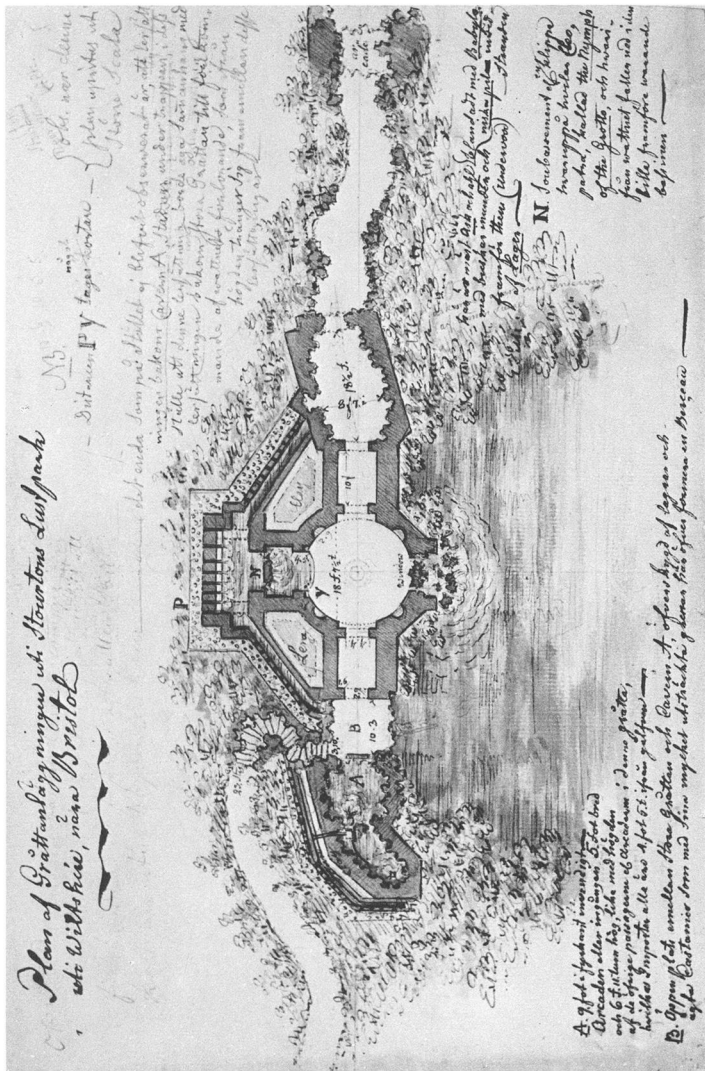
19. Pedimented exit to the Grotto (photo: K. Woodbridge)



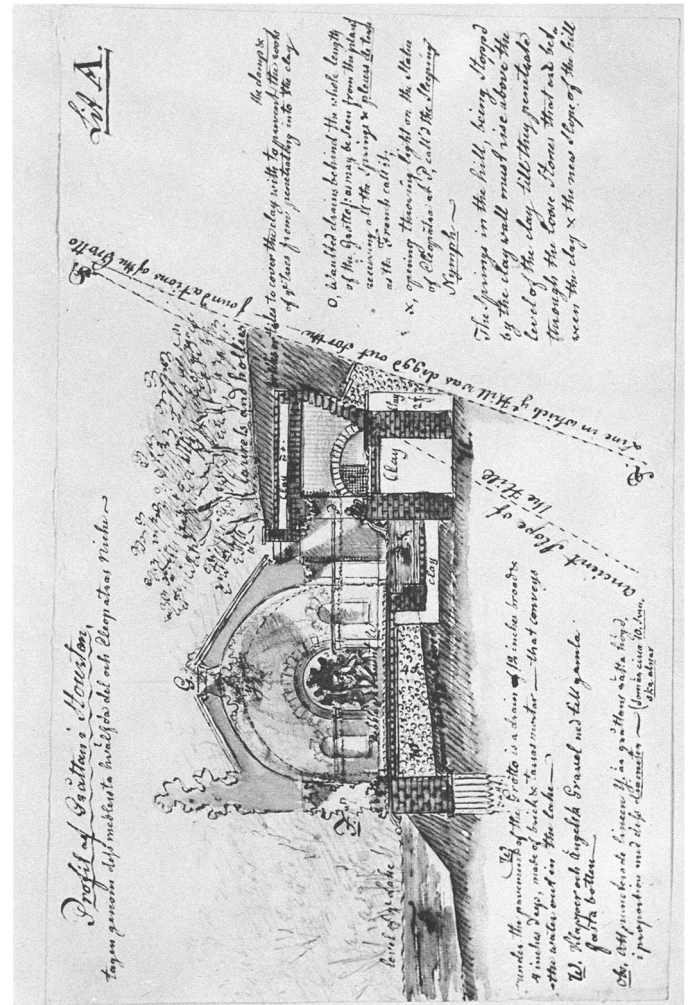
22. John Cheere, *River God*, the Grotto, Stourhead (photo: K. Woodbridge)



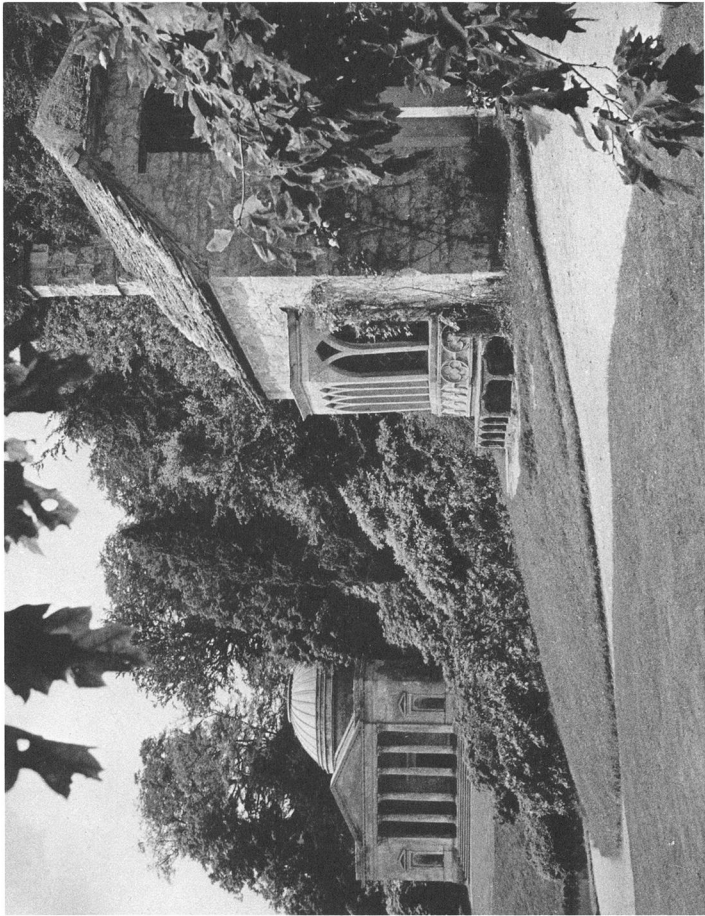
21. View of Stourton Church and the Palladian Bridge from the Grotto (photo: K. Woodbridge)



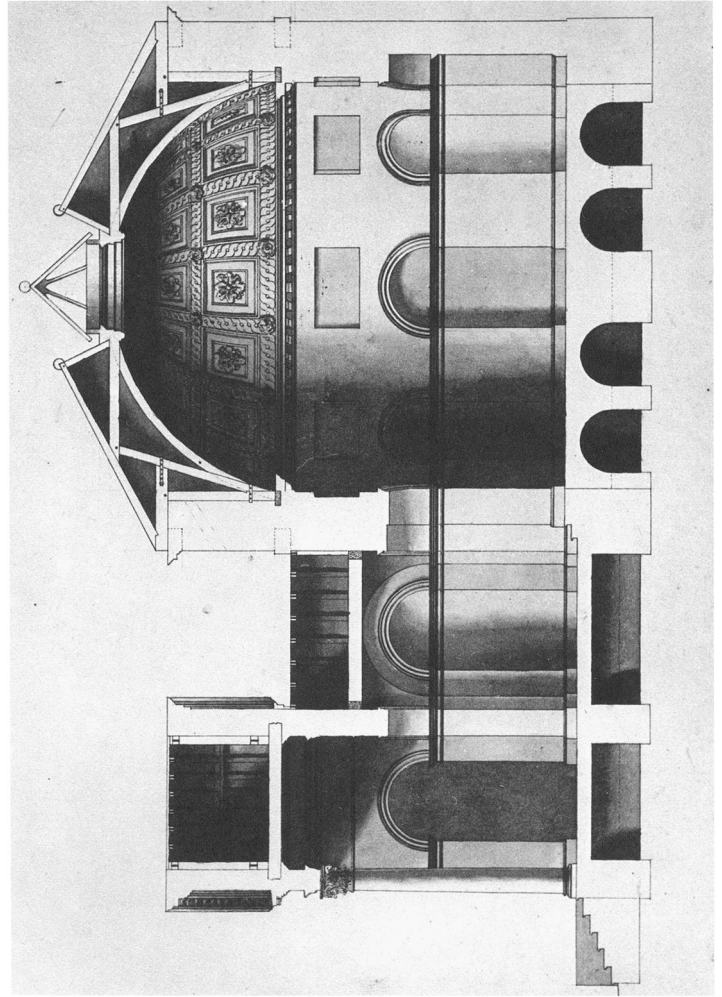
23. F. M. Piper, *Plan of the Grotto at Stourton, 1779*. Stockholm, Academy of Fine Arts (photo: R.I.B.A.)



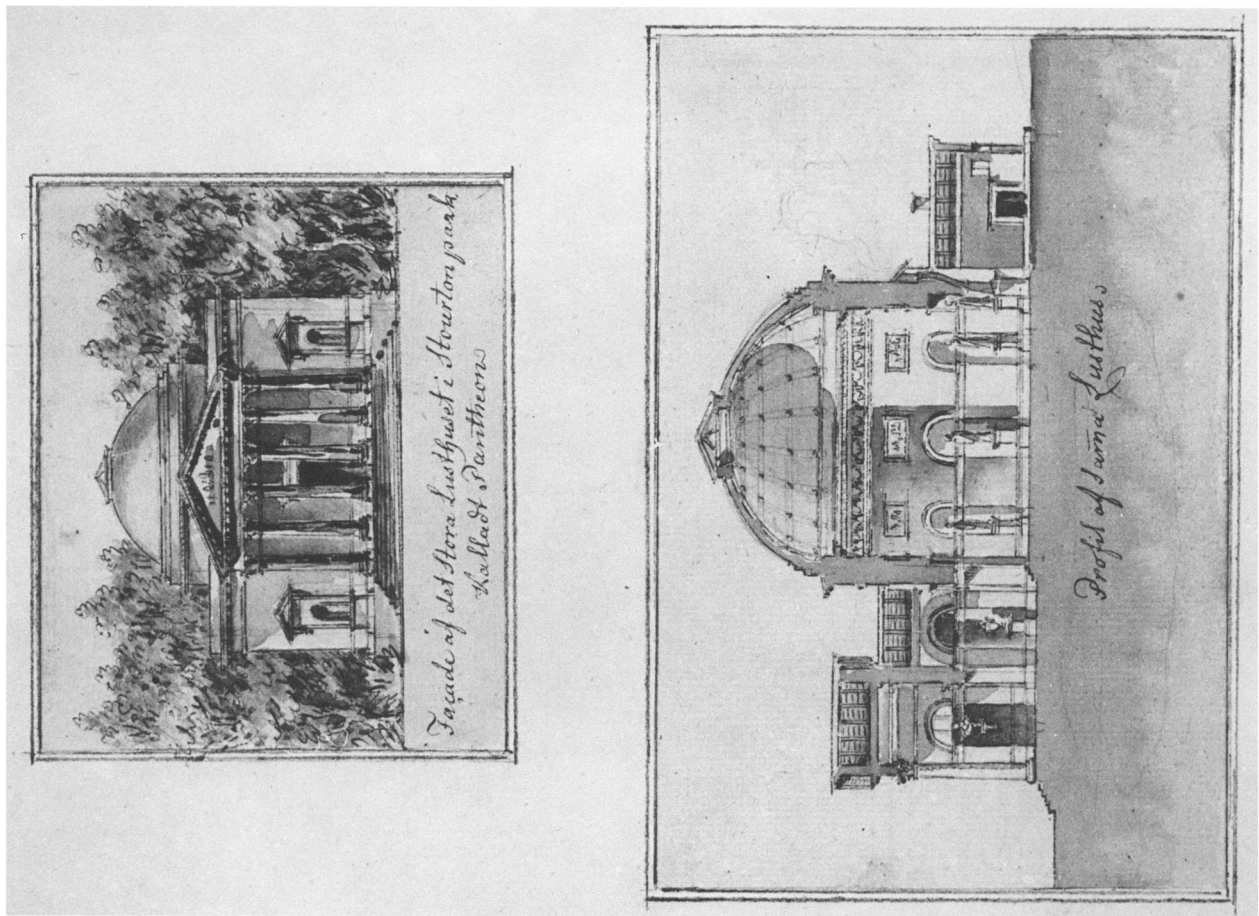
25. F. M. Piper, *Section of the Grotto at Stourton, 1779*. Stockholm, Academy of Fine Arts (photo: R.I.B.A.)



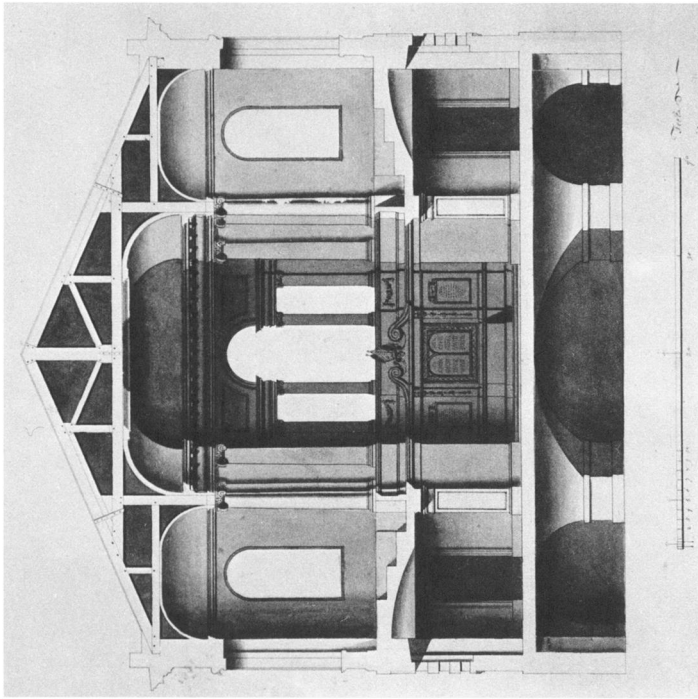
24. The Pantheon and Rustic Cottage (photo: K. Woodbridge)



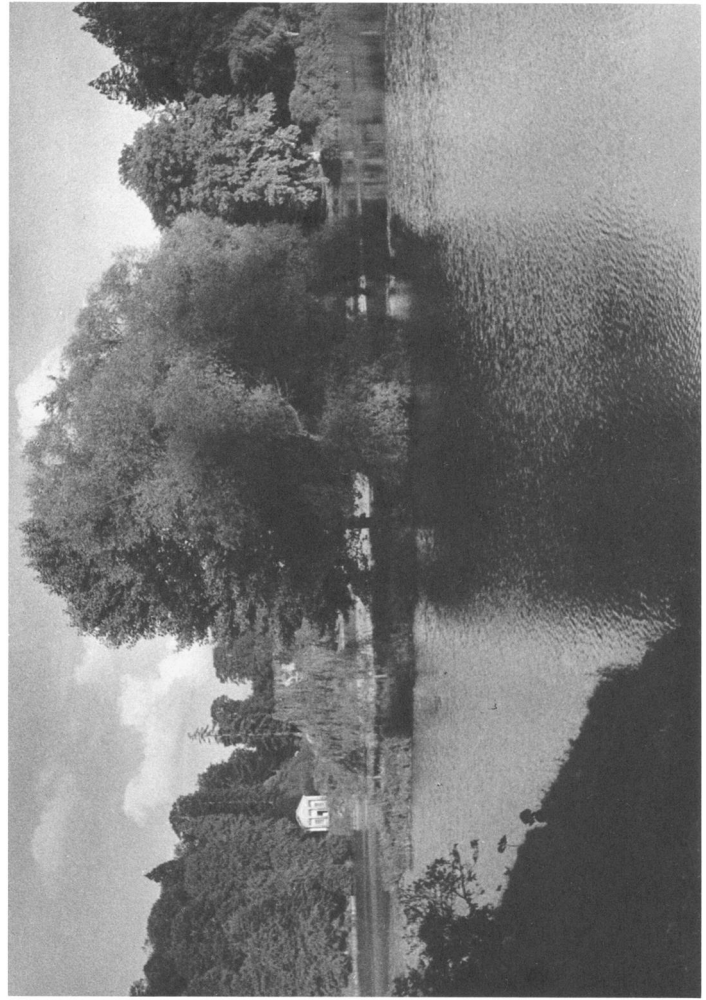
26. *Section of the Pantheon by Flitcroft?* Stockholm, Academy of Fine Arts (photo: R.I.B.A.)



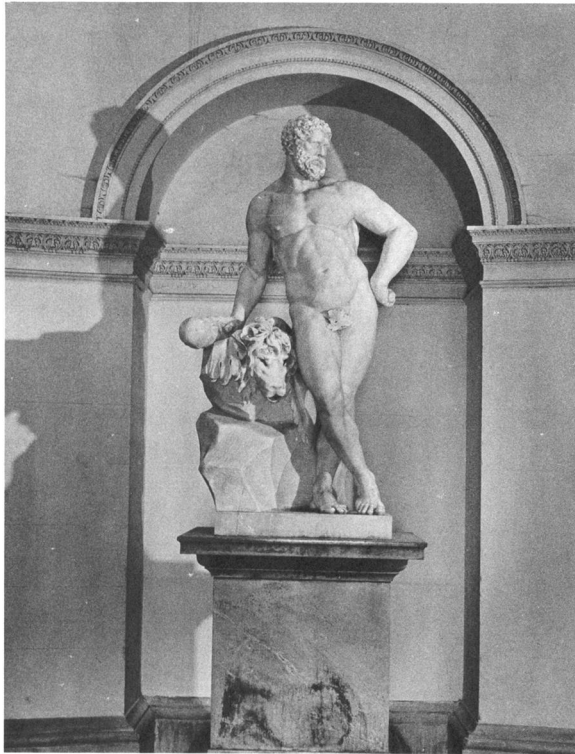
27. F. M. Piper, *Section and elevation of the Pantheon, Stourhead, 1779*
Stockholm, Academy of Fine Arts (photo: R.I.B.A.)



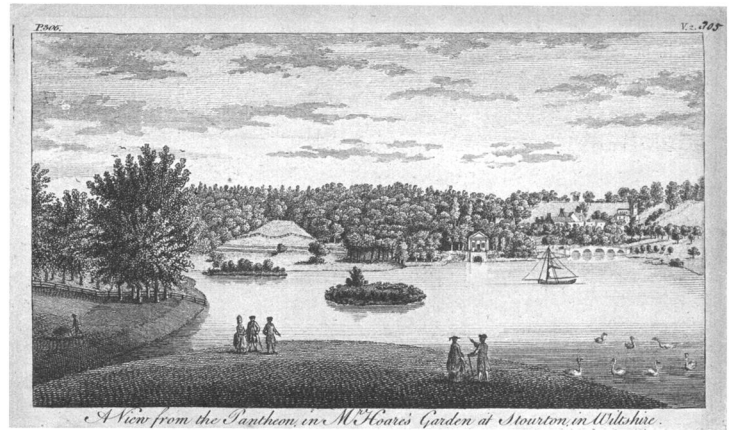
28. Flitcroft, Saint Giles in the Fields, Section N-s. London, R.I.B.A.



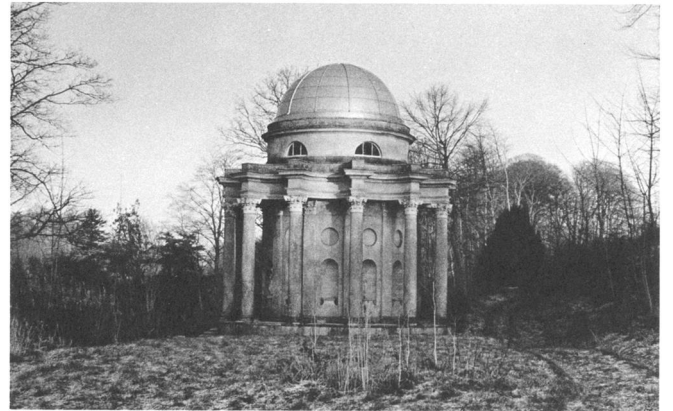
29. Stourton Village and the Temple of Flora from the Pantheon (photo: K. Woodbridge)



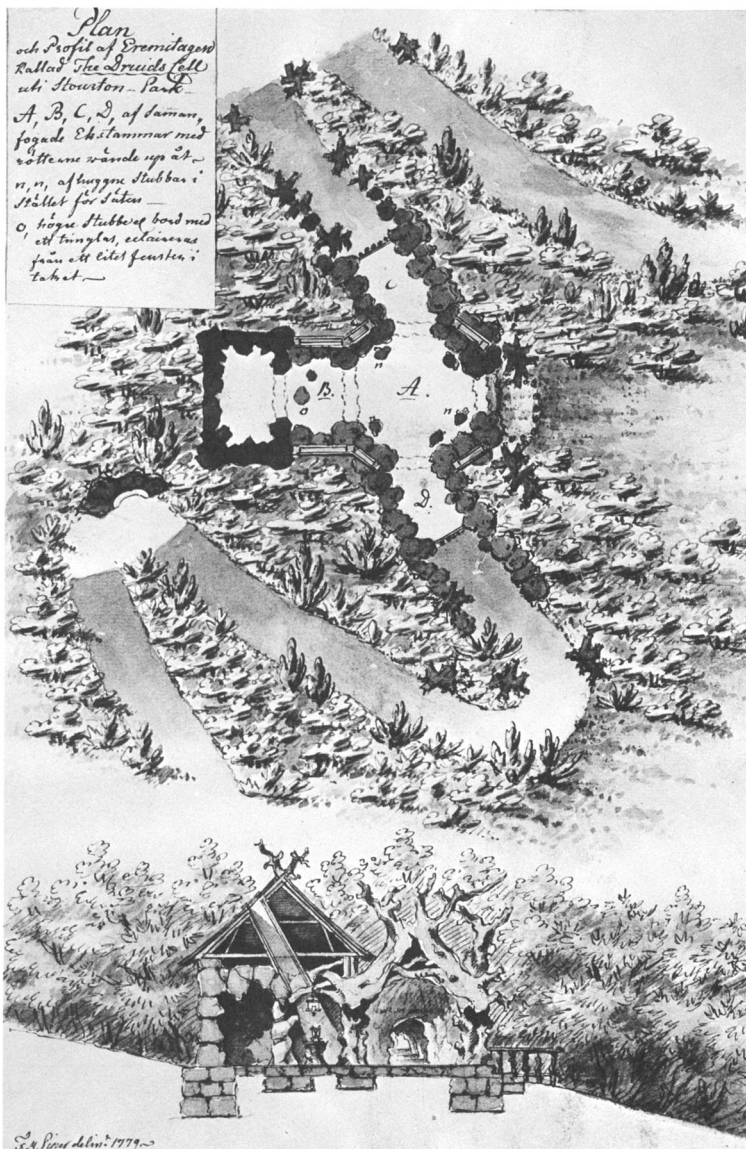
30. Rysbrack, *Hercules*, the Pantheon, Stourhead
(photo: Cyril Howe for the National Trust)



31. View from the Pantheon, engraving ca. 1765. Devizes Museum Library



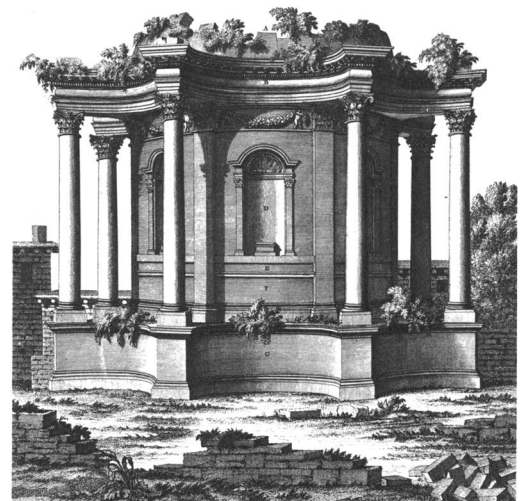
32. Flitcroft, *The Temple of Apollo*, Stourhead
(photo: K. Woodbridge)



33. F. M. Piper, *Plan and section of the Hermitage at Stourton*, 1779
Stockholm, Academy of Fine Arts. (photo: R.I.B.A.)



34. View from the Temple of Apollo
(photo: K. Woodbridge)



35. Round Temple from Robert Wood's
Ruins of Balbec, 1757, pl. XLIV

spring to the east. This is the place known as Paradise Well. On the map of 1722 (Fig. 2) there is the suggestion of some sort of tank here, which is clearly shown on the plan of 1792 (Fig. 4), probably serving the village of Stourton. These two features, the sites of the Grotto and the Temple of Flora (called by Flitcroft, "Ceres") are referred to in three letters from Flitcroft to Henry Hoare in 1744. The first, after mentioning work in connection with the library at the house, continues:

I have sent the cornice at large for the Venetian Seat. As to the price Mr. Ireson demands of £1. 10. 0. per rodd, I should be glad to have the work for that money, which I think it may if he will take pains about it; there is too little art or care used in most country work, but as these examples ought to be well done and the quantity of work not much, I am for having it well done, rather than save a few shillings in a few rodd of work. Not that I would give a farthing more than it deserves if not done as I propose. Pray let it be lookt. after in the execution which is very materiale. As for the [top or foss] wall, you are as good a judge of that as anybody, and know what to give; that requires no curiosity. I have sent the design of the Circular Open Temple of the Ionick Order, Antique, but before I send the construction of the stone-work must be certain of the dimention of the stone you can raise at your quarry and also must desire to know if it is weather proof, especially for the crown of the dome; this I shall be glad to know soon. I am glad you go on so well with the decoration of your salon and hope it will be executed to our wishes.⁸²

Henry jotted down the measurements of his stone in the margin.⁸³ A week later Flitcroft replied:

I have inclosd. the section and construction for the entablature and dome of the Round Temple for which I find your stone will be too small; but it may be done with the Shaftesbury stone which you say will resist the weather and is as fine graind. as Portland, therefore I should recomend caution in using your stone and desire you will not think of having above three stones in each pillar besides the base and capital, wch. makes 5 pieces in each. I am sorry Ireson is so unreasonable in his demand about the raising and scapling your stone. I thought the acct. of it had been kept by your gardiner, and that the price was to be proportiond. to that Acct. This indeed is but labourer's work; but as to the masonry of the Round Temple if it be not excellently well done it will not answer your purpose in being both a beautiful and lasting piece of work; if he be not capable of doing it as it ought, some other person should be employd.; and I must particularly desire that the foundations of this temple may be done in a very different manner from the coarse and ordinary manner in which ha-ha walls are generally done, or it will not do justice to this monument I hope you will transmit to posterity, to be a credit to the time in which it was done. Tis too true that workmen of this age study only their too much profit, rather than to be expert in geometry and mechanicks and the nature of materials, whereby they deserve encouragement and is the reason so few buildings are well performed.⁸⁴

Then follows a passage which suggests that Flitcroft was doing more than carrying out designs for buildings at Henry's request. "My next shall bring you sections of the proper moulding for this building, and after that the Temple of Ceres, with the Rocky Arch in which I propose to place the River God and a sketch of how I conceive the head of the lake should be formd. Twill make a most agreeable scene, with the solemn shade about it and the variety of other agreeable circumstances."⁸⁵

There is no trace or record of a "circular open temple of the ionick order" at Stourhead. This was obviously an important building, and the circular form suggests the Pantheon. How Henry could have changed his mind about the building for this site will be discussed below. Pococke wrote after his visit "To the south of the house is a lawn with a piece of water, and from that is a winding descent over the above mentioned valley; in the way is a Dorick open Temple, and

82. Henry Flitcroft to Henry Hoare, Aug. 18, 1744. T(ST) 383.907. Punctuation and modern spelling have been used where this assists readability without affecting the sense.

83. "fr. 3 to 4 Long; fr 12 to 13 inch Thick; 18 sometimes; 18 inches broad—or more."

84. H. F. to H. H., Aug. 25, 1744. T(ST) 383.907. Concerning the stone, see notes 91 and 146.

85. *Ibid.* The *River God* was evidently one bought from

Thos. Manning, and not Cheere's. Since this article went to press a painting by C. W. Bampfylde, signed with initials and dated 1753, has come to my notice (I. A. Williams, *Early English Water-colours*, pl. CLXXX, fig. 370). This shows the Temple of Ceres (Flora) and below it a pedimented rustic arch containing a statue above a spring. These are probably the rocky arch and the river god to which Flitcroft refers. This painting shows the original pond or tank near the village.

below, over the water, is an Ionick temple, with a handsom room in it."⁸⁶ Piper's plan of 1779 (Fig. 3), in spite of its topographical inaccuracy,⁸⁷ gives an idea of the layout of the garden. The lawn to the south of the house is terminated by a statue of Apollo Belvedere on a rise. A path to the right leads to a terrace (YY); and in the way is an open temple (E) (Fig. 41).⁸⁸ From Piper's drawing it can be seen that this is not Doric but Ionic. Pococke probably inadvertently switched the orders. "Over the water," read as "overlooking the water," would describe the Roman Doric Temple of Flora (Ceres). The Ionic open temple (Fig. 41), it can be seen, contained an urn and two busts, probably those now in the Temple of Flora. Flitcroft's third letter gives instructions for this building:

I have inclosd. to you the plan and elevation of the Temple of Ceres, with a scetch of the entablature showing how the tryglyphs and metop[e]s should be proportioned with the scul[ptu]rs and be introduced therein; a great deal of the old entablature will come in [as stone] but I believe must be entirely new wrought, for I much doubt if any part be tolerably exact. I have also sent a plan and section for the manner of laying the foundations which must go down to the *terra firma*, or be pyled in a good manner to prevent the least settlement, which would be a very bad thing in these sort of buildings. But if the hill, in the place where this building is to stand, be natural firm earth, then following the pland. positions will be sufficient to make a very good building. The entablature at the ends will be plane as appears in the breaks at the ends of the portico. Pray let them take care to make the pediments true pitch, which in the present portico is too high. A section of the inside of this building shall be soon sent, with a particular drawing of the doorcase and pedestal moulding, but this will be sufficient to enable you to talk with the mason about the building. The entablature on the inside the portico will be plane and the cornice to which may be stucco. The covering of this building I believe must be of slate. I shall be glad to hear how your other works go on.⁸⁹

It is clear from this that Henry was supervising the work himself. The mason in this case was probably Nathaniel Ireson,⁹⁰ builder of the house. By 1744 he had been established for some years in Wincanton where he had opened a quarry. Although Ireson was employed on building between 1743 and the beginning of 1745, his name does not appear in the accounts again, possibly because of the trouble mentioned in Flitcroft's letter. From 1745 onwards William Privett of Chilmark⁹¹ did most of Henry's building in the garden. Flitcroft received £200⁹² in 1745; Ireson was paid £450⁹³ from 1743 until Privett took over. The first phase seems to have been complete by the end of 1745, and we may assume by the entry in September, "By Willm. Privet on Acct. of Temple,"⁹⁴ that it included the Temple of Ceres (Flora). Building seems to have stopped during 1746, and there is only one significant entry, on December 5 of that year, "By Mr. Wootton for a Picture, a Compn. to my Claude Ln . . . £36. 15."⁹⁵ This is the first record of Henry Hoare's interest in Claude. Was it then that he had the idea of making his landscape correspond?

There was never more than one picture by Claude at Stourhead, acquired presumably before 1746, and described in the sale catalogue of 1883.⁹⁶ Although this one did not, a number of paintings by Claude do bear a resemblance to aspects of the garden. In *Coast View of Delos with Aeneas* (Fig. 43)⁹⁷ a Doric portico occupies the right foreground, with the Pantheon facing it beyond, in the relative positions of the buildings at Stourhead. Henry Hoare owned the copy by Lucatelli

86. R. Pococke, *op.cit.*, p. 43.

87. Among other things his viewpoints, indicated by dotted lines, do not correspond with the actuality.

88. This temple no longer exists and is probably the one referred to by Colt Hoare, *History of Modern Wiltshire*, p. 66.

89. H. F. to H. H., Sept. 1, 1744. T(ST) 383.907.

90. Nathaniel Ireson, 1686-1769, master builder. A native of Warwickshire established at Stourton by 1720. H. M. Colvin, *A Biographical Dictionary of English Architects 1660-1840*, London, 1954.

91. Called "Willm. Privet of Chilmark" in ledger entry Dec. 30, 1745. FS(Acc.). According to Chilmark Parish Register there were a number of stonemasons called William Privet. One died in 1747 and another in 1772. Chilmark is near Tisbury in Wiltshire. A fine sandy limestone, similar to

Portland, is quarried there and is probably that used in the Temple of Flora, the Pantheon and the pediments of the Grotto. See notes 84 and 146.

92. Ledger entries May 16 and June 19, 1745. FS(Acc.)W.

93. Ledger entries. FS(Acc.) and FS(Acc.)W.

94. Sep. 1745. FS(Acc.)W.

95. Dec. 5, 1746. FS(Acc.)W.

96. Christie, Manson and Woods, *Catalogue of Sale of Stourhead Heirlooms*, June 1, 1883, Devizes Museum Library. St. John Gore, "The Hoares of Stourhead," *Country Life*, CXXXV, 1964, p. 211, describes the painting as "a pastoral landscape of doubtful authenticity."

97. Martin Davies, *French School*, National Gallery, London, 1946, p. 27; Marcel Roethlisberger, *Claude Lorrain*, London, 1961, I, LV 179, p. 420; II, fig. 292.

of a similar picture, *View of Delphi with a Procession*,⁹⁸ in which the foreground building is quite unlike the Temple of Flora. The original has never left Rome.⁹⁹ The Pantheon in these pictures stands on a steep bank in just the way it does at Stourhead (Fig. 10). It may be objected that Claude's picture opens into the distance, while the landscape at Stourhead is enclosed. But we are now looking at it in its maturity (Fig. 39); a contemporary engraving (Fig. 15) shows it was not always thus. The land does fall away in the west, and when the setting sun is flooding it with light, it is hard to believe the analogy with Claude was not intended by whoever placed the temple there. The painting of Delos was one of six illustrating the story of Aeneas which may, as will be shown later, have had a particular interest for Henry Hoare. Originally made for an unknown patron, it was later in the collection of a M. de Viviers in Paris and was said to have been in a sale in 1737,¹⁰⁰ about the time when Henry was traveling abroad forming the nucleus of his picture collection. A third painting, *Landscape with Egeria Mourning over Numa*,¹⁰¹ again shows the Pantheon. The nymph's lamentations were said to disturb the services at the Temple of Diana by Lake Nemi, and later she was turned into a spring. Henry Hoare bought a statue of Diana from Cheere in 1745.¹⁰² Part of the hillside to the right, past the Temple of Flora, was known as the Mount of Diana.¹⁰³ Three other paintings by Claude are perhaps worth mentioning in connection with Stourhead. *Landscape with the Father of Psyche Sacrificing at the Milesian Temple of Apollo*,¹⁰⁴ and *Parnassus*¹⁰⁵ both have a circular temple on a hill. The former also has a bridge reminiscent of Stourhead. *Landscape with the Parnassus*¹⁰⁶ is of interest because of its River God, after the antique figure *Nile* in the Vatican, with the water issuing from an urn as at Stourhead. Henry bought a river god from Thos. Manning in 1743;¹⁰⁷ probably the one to which Flitcroft referred, as Cheere's river god was not bought until 1751.¹⁰⁸ Although the Temple of Apollo was not designed before 1757, the year Robert Wood's *Ruins of Balbec* was published,¹⁰⁹ and the Pantheon was being built between 1753 and 1761,¹¹⁰ this does not mean that there was no general plan before those dates. The building proceeded in the proper sequence of the features round the lake. Whose conception was it? There are several possibilities:

1. It was Henry Hoare's conception and he employed Flitcroft for the technical details of the buildings.
2. Although Flitcroft was employed by Henry Hoare, the concept was his.
3. Both contributed to the idea.
4. Flitcroft consulted Kent, who was still alive in 1744.

The answer lies probably between 1 and 3, and the garden was the result of creative friction in which Flitcroft provided the form and Henry the iconography; in any case they must have discussed the siting of the buildings. There were other buildings in the garden; a Gothic greenhouse, a Chinese alcove, a Turkish tent, a hermitage, a rustic cottage, "such was the gardening fashion of former days when nature was overcrowded by buildings not in harmony with each other."¹¹¹

98. M. Roethlisberger, *op.cit.*, I, LV 119, p. 293; II, fig. 207.

99. Rome, Galleria Doria-Pamphili.

100. Martin Davies, *op.cit.*; Roethlisberger gives date of sale as 1747.

101. M. Roethlisberger, *op.cit.*, I, LV 175, p. 409; II, figs. 284, 285. Later, Henry Hoare bought a picture of Lake Nemi from Richard Wilson. See note 159.

102. May 2, 1745. FS(Acc.)W.

103. Engraving (Fig. 15) ca. 1765.

104. M. Roethlisberger, *op.cit.*, I, LV 157, p. 369; II, fig. 259.

105. *Ibid.*, I, LV 193, p. 451; II, fig. 314.

106. *Ibid.*, I, LV 126, p. 307; II, fig. 215.

107. Jan. 28, 1743. FS(Acc.)W. R. Gunnis, *Dictionary of British Sculptors*, mentions a Manning who provided figures

for Grottos in 1743. He suggests that this was John Manning the Elder, "an ingenious statuary of Hyde Park Corner."

108. R. Gunnis, *Dictionary of British Sculptors*. Aug. 7, 1751. FS(Acc.)

109. Robert Wood, *The Ruins of Balbec, otherwise Heliopolis in Coelosyria*, London, 1757. An entry in Henry Hoare's ledger for Apr. 26, 1757, reads "By plans etc. of Balbec pr. Lord Dungarvan £3. 15." T(ST) 383.6.

110. First entry June 16, 1753 "By Mr. Privet on Accot. of the Temple of Hercules, £100," last entries Dec. 14, 1761, "by Mr. Jelfe for Pantheon pavemt. £106. 2.," "By Mr. Holmes for Pantheon Iron gates, £33. 3." T(ST) 383.6. The building was probably all but completed in 1757. This is discussed below.

111. R. Colt Hoare, *History of Modern Wiltshire*, p. 65.

That this was Henry Hoare's taste is hardly to be doubted, and it seems incompatible with the purely classical image of which there is evidence in the sequence round the lake. But these other features were almost certainly added after 1765, when fashion was changing; and, moreover, in such a way that they did not interfere with the general appearance. Piper's plan of 1779 (Fig. 3) does not show the Rustic Cottage, either because it was not there or because it was unnoticeable in the woods.¹¹² The other buildings were up among the trees on the hillside towards the house and would not therefore have obtruded into the walk round the lake. The classical image there is surely paramount because all the influence in Henry Hoare's early years came from Burlington's circle, and Flitcroft was a Palladian executant. We have seen his part in the Temple of Flora. The wooden bridge which crossed the arm of the lake between this building and the Grotto was Palladian,¹¹³ as Walpole so describes it. When Henry came to build the stone bridge (Fig. 38) near the cross in 1762, he "took it from Palladio's bridge at Vicenza."¹¹⁴ Who else but Flitcroft would have produced such a professional piece of construction¹¹⁵ as the Grotto (Fig. 25) which, before the alteration to the entrance, was a circular domed chamber with equal arms and pedimented arches (Fig. 19), an essentially classical building. The original entrance can be seen embedded in the later romantic flint-lined passage (Fig. 20). But as Walpole says, "[Milton's] description of Eden is a warmer and more just picture of the present style than Claude Lorrain could have painted from Hagley or Stourhead," "where the river bursts from the urn of its god, and passes on its course through the cave,"¹¹⁶ just as Eve remembered it on the day of her creation when

I first awak't, and found my self repos'd
Under a shade on flours, much wondring where
And what I was, whence thither brought, and how.
Not distant far from thence a murmuring sound
Of waters issu'd from a Cave and spread
Into a liquid plain.¹¹⁷

What Flitcroft owed to Kent and Burlington, and hence to the influence of Claude and Palladio, appears more clearly in the Pantheon which is also his most original contribution. In extending the front with closed bays, Flitcroft echoed the south elevation of Burlington's villa at Chiswick, but with the portico recessed. And, of course, Kent's small Ionic Temple based on the Pantheon was also at Chiswick.

The earliest reference to the Pantheon is in 1753 when William Privett was paid £300 on account for the "Temple of Hercules."¹¹⁸ We may assume that the building was fairly far advanced when Pococke visited in July 1754 as he described it as having "a grand portico of the Corinthian or Composite order."¹¹⁹ The lead for the roof was also bought that year.¹²⁰ Walpole said that the original design was altered.¹²¹ Among the drawings at Stockholm¹²² attributed to Piper there is a section of the Pantheon which differs in important details from its present form as to the construction of the dome and the interior treatment (Fig. 26). Another section by Piper

112. A 19th century watercolor of this building, at present at Hoare and Co.'s Fleet Street office, shows it among the trees and covered with creeper.

113. Cf. "Prospetto di ponte in Legno." Palladio 111, reproduced in *Andrea Palladio*, Roberto Pane, Turin, 1961, p. 18.

114. Henry Hoare to Lady Bruce, Oct. 23, 1762. TOT.

115. There are various sketches and drawings in Stockholm of the construction of the Grotto. The one illustrated (Fig. 25) is presumably copied from another on which is written, "Supposing the springs in ye hill below the level MN; In carrying up the clay wall A the water from these springs raises in the same proportion among the loose stones that are thrown between the clay and the slope RS, which was made in digging out the hill before the foundations of ye

Grotto could be laid; over the clay and ye foundations B is flat stones with gutters which pour out the water upon the pavement behind the nymph."

116. Horace Walpole, "On Modern Gardening," p. 268.

117. John Milton, *Paradise Lost* 4, lines 450ff.

118. Jun. 16, Sep. 29. T(ST) 383. 6.

119. R. Pococke, *Travels through England*, p. 43.

120. Oct. 10, 1754, "To Henry Jordan of Blandford, His Bill to Geo. Cannick for lead for the Roof of the Pantheon, £223. 3." FS(Acc.).

121. H. Walpole, "Visits to Country Seats," p. 43.

122. The originals are with the Royal Academy of Fine Arts, Stockholm. References to these in this article relate to prints from negatives in the R.I.B.A. Library, 66 Portland Place, London.

(Fig. 27) shows the dome and the treatment of the interior as it is now, with the bas-reliefs and the frieze from Balbec which could not have been earlier than 1757.¹²³ The first section is probably one of Flitcroft's original designs, not only on account of its style (cf. Fig. 28), but also because Piper would not have drawn something which did not exist. It looks as though, whatever may have been added or altered, the building was ready to receive Rysbrack's Hercules in 1757.¹²⁴ The statue had been commissioned ten years earlier.¹²⁵ It is also recorded that in 1744 the sculptor, "finding himself somewhat at leisure, business not being so brisk . . . he therefore set himself about a model of Hercules"¹²⁶ in terra cotta. It might immediately be assumed that the decision to call the Pantheon the Temple of Hercules followed from this. But it is possible that Henry already had a statue of Hercules in mind when he saw Rysbrack's model. This assumption becomes more plausible if we study the iconography of the garden.

The pictorial and literary clues point to the *Aeneid*. The painting in the National Gallery called *Coast View of Delos with Aeneas* (Fig. 43), which bears more than a casual relation to the design of the garden, refers to an episode in Book III of the *Aeneid*. According to Roethlisberger,¹²⁷ Claude took the subject from Ovid's version of the story in *Metamorphoses* 13. The painting shows Anius (king and priest of Delos), Anchises, Aeneas, and Ascanius standing on a terrace outside a Doric Portico overlooking the harbor at Delos. Beyond them is a temple like the Pantheon. The story in the *Aeneid* reads:

To Delos I now sailed, and our tired band received a safe and kindly welcome in the harbour. We disembarked and paid reverence to Apollo's city. The king was Anius, who was priest of Apollo as well as king, and wore the holy bay-leaves and ribbons on his brow. He came to meet us and recognised Anchises as an old friend. He shook hands with us, treating us as his guests; and we walked up to the palace. Reverently I entered the temple built of ancient stone and prayed; "Apollo, grant us a home of our own. We are weary. Give us a walled city which shall endure, and a lineage of our blood. Let there be some new citadel for us; henceforth preserve it as a remnant of Troy saved from the Greeks and from merciless Achilles. Who is to be our guide? Where do you bid us go, where settle our home? Be to us a father-god; tell us your will and speak direct to our hearts."

I had scarcely spoken when of a sudden everything seemed to quake, even the God's entrance-door and his bay-tree; the whole hill on which we stood appeared to move and the shrine seemed to open and the tripod within to speak with a roar. We bowed low and fell to the earth. A voice came to our ears: "O much enduring Dardans, the land of your ancestors whence you are sprung shall receive you on your return to her generous bosom. Seek out your ancient mother. And from this land the House of Aeneas, the sons of his sons, and all their descendents shall bear rule over the earth's widest bounds."¹²⁸

The connection between this painting and the garden is admittedly conjecture. The inscription on the Temple of Flora is not. The quotation, *Procul, o procul este profani*, is from the sixth book. After leaving Carthage Aeneas came to "Euboean Cumae's coast" where he "made his way to the fastness where Apollo rules on high, and to the vast cavern beyond which is the awful Sibyl's own secluded place."¹²⁹ Here the priestess of Apollo and Diana "invited them into the temple on the height"¹³⁰ where the oracle told Aeneas of the future. Aeneas then asked, "Since it is said that here is the Eternal Gate of the Infernal King and near here the marsh in the darkness where Acheron's stream bends round, may I be granted to come within sight of my dear father face to face. . . ."¹³¹

"There was a deep rugged cave," the story continues,

123. I am indebted to Mr. J. Kenworthy-Browne for drawing my attention to the similarity between the frieze in the Pantheon at Stourhead and that illustrated in Robert Wood's *Ruins of Balbec* which was published in 1757, see note 109.

124. Feb. 18, 1757, "a pedestal for Hercules." FS(Acc.). Jul. 16, 1757, "a Gratuity for the Hercules beyond the Contract." T(ST) 383.6.

125. Agreement dated July 1, 1747. T(ST) 383.4.

126. M. I. Webb, *Michael Rysbrack*, Country Life, 1954, p. 121 n. 2.

127. M. Roethlisberger, *Claude Lorrain*, 1, p. 420.

128. Virgil *The Aeneid* 3, W. F. Jackson Knight, trans., Penguin Books, ed. 1958, p. 77.

129. *The Aeneid* 6, p. 147.

130. *Ibid.*, p. 148.

131. *Ibid.*, p. 150.

stupendous and yawning wide, protected by a lake of black water and over this lake no birds could wing a straight course without harm, so poisonous the breath which streamed up from those black jaws and rose to the vault of sky; and that is why the Greeks named this place "Aornos, the Birdless." Here the Priestess set in place four bullocks black of hide. That was her first act. Next she poured wine over their foreheads, clipped the bristles growing between their horns, and laid them, as the first taste of the offering, on the sacrificial fire; and as she did so she cried aloud to Hecate, the mighty in Heaven and mighty in Hell. Others applied the knife to the victims' throats and caught the warm blood in bowls. Aeneas took his sword and smote a lamb with fleece black as soot in offering to the Mother of the Eumenides and her Great Sister, and a barren cow for Proserpine herself. Now he began the nocturnal altar rite to the King of Styx. He laid whole carcasses of bulls on the flames and poured rich olive oil on the glowing entrails. And, behold, soon before the first gleam of the rising sun, the ground bellowed beneath their feet, the slopes of the forest-clad mountains began to move, and there appeared shapes like hounds howling and just visible through the shadows; the Goddess was coming and was very near. "Stand clear!" cried the Priestess, "all you who are unhallowed: stand clear! Be gone from all the Grove. But you, Aeneas, whip blade from scabbard and step forth on your way. It is now that you need courage and a strong heart." Saying no more she plunged frantically down into the opened cavern, and strode onwards. With dauntless pace Aeneas followed where she led.¹³²

So the path round the garden leads through "the forest" and imperceptibly into "the underworld." "The descent to Avernus is not hard. . . . but to retrace the steps and escape back to the upper airs, that is the task and that is the toil,"¹³³ which gives another meaning to the steep climb out of the Grotto. That something of the kind was in Henry Hoare's mind is confirmed in a letter he wrote some years later concerning the rocky tunnel under the road below the Temple of Apollo. "I have made the passage up from the Sousterrain Serpentine & will make it easier of access *facilis descensus Averno*."¹³⁴

We have seen that the earliest recorded purchase of statuary for the garden was from Manning for a river god. In the *Aeneid* we read that Aeneas, faced with war against Latium and the need for allies, "was tossed on a heaving tide of anxieties."¹³⁵ He then "sank on the river bank under heaven's chill height. . . . And there appeared to him the God of the place, old Tiber himself . . ." who told him, ". . . here is your home assured and here for the Gods of Home is their sure place."¹³⁶ And Aeneas "cried from his heart to the sky: 'Nymphs . . . whose birth is of the rivers, and, Father Tiber, you, and your hallowed stream, receive me. . . . Whatever spring may fill the pools which are your home, and wherever you yourself emerge in grandeur from the soil, always shall you be celebrated by me. . . .'"¹³⁷ This is just what Henry Hoare did at Paradise Well, Saint Peter's Pump and in the Grotto.

Having followed the river god's instructions to seek out the Arcadians as allies, Aeneas found that "on that very day the Arcadian king was paying anniversary honours to Amphitryon's mighty son Hercules"¹³⁸ who, on that spot, had killed the man-monster Cacus. Thereafter his rites had been observed, and an altar erected to him, "our 'Greatest Altar' we shall always call

132. *Ibid.*, p. 154.

133. *Ibid.*, p. 151.

134. Henry Hoare to Lord Bruce, Dec. 23, 1765. T(TOT). It is not quite clear that the reference is to the tunnel. It might be to the Grotto itself. The inscription on the original pedimented entrance, *Intus aquae dulces, vivoque sedilia saxo, Nympharum domus* (*Aeneid* 1. 167), indicates that the Grotto was associated with the description of the place where Aeneas landed in Africa. "On each shore a frightening headland of rock towers massively into the sky; and the wide expanse of water which they overshadow is noiseless and secure. Beyond the water a curtain of trees with quivering leaves reaches downwards, and behind them is an overhanging forest-clad mountainside, mysterious and dark. There is a cave directly in front at the foot of the cliffs. Inside it are stalactites and fresh water, and there are seats there, cut in the living rock, for nymphs have their home in the cave." (Virgil, *The Aeneid*, W. F. Jackson Knight, trans., Penguin Books, ed. 1958, p. 32.) This means that the parallel between the

Grotto and Avernus came to Henry Hoare later and he altered it accordingly.

135. *The Aeneid* 8, p. 201.

136. *The Aeneid* 8, p. 202. Horace Walpole (*Visits to Country Seats*, p. 42) says that there were lines of Virgil under the *River God*. Colt Hoare quotes the inscription in *History of Modern Wiltshire*, p. 66:

Haec domus, haec sedes, haec sunt penetralia magni Amnis;
in hoc residens facto de cantibus antro Undis jura dabat,
nymphisque colentibus undas.

This is from Ovid's story of Daphne and Apollo, *Metamorphoses* 1, lines 574ff. This would seem to contradict the *Aeneid* theory, were it not for the other references and the fact that consistency was not important to Henry Hoare in this context.

137. *Ibid.*, p. 203.

138. *Ibid.*, p. 204.

it, our 'Greatest' it shall always be."¹³⁹ It looks very much as if Henry, in his garden, celebrated the founding of Rome, just as he, like Aeneas, was establishing a family in a place. This, as we shall see, was in accordance with his character. It is a sad reflection that he outlived all his children, and that his direct line was extinguished little more than fifty years after his death. In 1748, the year the bill¹⁴⁰ for the Grotto was presented, his only surviving son was growing to manhood. It seems there was a strong bond between them; not only did he represent his hopes of immortality, but he was able to share his interest in the arts. It is evident from the ledgers that Henry's son (yet another Henry) was buying pictures in 1750,¹⁴¹ probably for his father. There was a letter from Aix that year which contained an account of pictures in the Luxembourg and also said, "The Claude you desire me to describe is remarkable for having a Jupiter and Europa in the foreground; it is a seaport with trees on the left hand & on the right a Castle on the Top of a Rock projecting into the sea, which you see through some Trees."¹⁴² It is a pleasant picture but not a warm one & neither that nor any of the others are in good preservation enough for you to buy. I mentioned to you before the only one I thought worth anything, the Bourgognone."¹⁴³ The writer died at Naples the following year, aged twenty-one. For Henry it was the most bitter experience of all. Some months later he wrote to his brother Richard, "I have been taught by our Holy Religion, by former Visitations, Tryals and Afflictions to submit myself before the Throne of God who (unworthy as I am of the least of His Divine favours) still supports me under a Grief I never expected or wish'd to have survived; but His will be done, His Mercys are infinite, His Judgments like the great Deep."¹⁴⁴

III

Left without an heir (for who could say what the future held for his two daughters) Henry Hoare might well have felt discouraged from immediate thoughts of adorning his inheritance. It is perhaps for this reason that there is only one entry for building in the accounts of 1752, "By Mr. Privet being an extra Allowce. on Obelisk acct."¹⁴⁵ He had been about this memorial (to his father) since 1746¹⁴⁶ but it could hardly have taken so long to build and Privett had meanwhile been on other work.¹⁴⁷ It was also at this time that he began to think of a villa at Clapham Common, where in later life he would spend his winters and eventually die.¹⁴⁸ Flitcroft again was the architect.¹⁴⁹ The house,¹⁵⁰ which was of Suffolk brick, faced the common with a center

139. *Ibid.*, p. 209.

140. Bill from Wm. Privett and Co. for work done "about the Grotto at Stourhead," 1748. Items include "coping round the cupulo," "Ribbs," "Pediments," "37 days at the quarry," "935 days work my men at 2s. 6d.," "Labourer 110 days at 14d.," "Myself 101 days at 3s." The work therefore probably took just over three months with nine men working on it. T(ST) 383.4.

141. Henry Hoare, Jr., Ledger for 1750. FS(Acc.). T(ST) 383.4.

142. Probably Roethlisberger, *Claude Lorrain*, I, LV 111, p. 276; II, fig. 193. Location unknown. In the collection of Sir Joshua Reynolds by 1771.

143. Letter to Henry Hoare, Dec. 25, 1750. T(ST) 383.907.

144. Henry Hoare to Sir Richard Hoare (his brother), Mar. 14, 1752. FS.

145. Nov. 29, 1752. T(ST) 383.6.

146. See estimate and bond of "Wm. Privett, Robt. Moore Sen. and Robt. Moore Ju. for the true performance of the Obelisque," dated 1746. T(ST) 343.907:

"Whereas the above bounden William Privett Robert Moor the older and Robert Moor the Younger have come to an Agreement with the above named Henry Hoare for the erecting and setting up an Obelisk in or near the Garden of the said Henry Hoare at Stourhead aforesaid of the height of

one hundred foot at the least part of which said Obelisk is to be built with Stone to be raised brought and used from the Quarries of them the said William Privett Robert Moor the older and Robert Moor the Younger at Chilmark aforesaid and some doubt arising to the said Henry Hoare whither the Stone to be brought from Chilmark and used as aforesaid will endure and stand all weather without receiving damage thereby the said William Privett Robert Moor the older and Robert Moor the Younger do hereby warrant the same stone to stand firm sound and good against all weather for the Space of Five Years from the finishing and compleating the said Obelisk without receiving any damage thereby either by shelling flaws or otherwise."

The doubt about the stone which Flitcroft expressed in his letters evidently continued. See also notes 84 and 91. The obelisk at present bears a dedication from Sir Richard Colt Hoare to Henry Hoare II. It was rebuilt in 1840, N. Pevsner, *Wiltshire* (Buildings of England), London, 1963, p. 449.

147. September 1745, "Temple." FS(Acc.)W. Dec. 4, 1749 "Bridge and other work." T(ST) 383.6 and the Grotto.

148. R. Colt Hoare, *MS memoirs*. ST.

149. Nov. 24, 1753, "By Mr. Flitcroft for his trouble at Clapham House in full . . . £200." T(ST) 383.6.

150. I am indebted to Mr. E. E. Smith, Hon. Sec. of the Clapham Antiquarian Society, both for a photograph of a lithograph of the house and for his cyclostyled notes on its

block of three stories flanked by two narrow four-story wings; these in turn were linked by ornamental walls to coach houses and stables on either side, whose treatment echoes the Palladian motif of the temple¹⁵¹ on the terrace at Stourhead. No trace remains today of the pleasure grounds which Henry Hoare made at Clapham, and on which he looked from the bow windows of his drawing room there, down towards the Thames and Chelsea Hospital in the distance. This room was painted with subjects from mythology, but what these were and who painted them is not recorded.¹⁵² Doubtless there was a movement of pictures and furniture between Stourhead and Clapham, although there is no reason to suppose that the Surrey home remotely rivaled the Wiltshire one.

The period from 1752, when Henry was forty-seven, to the end of his life is the best documented, in that many of his letters have survived. It is clear that he regarded himself primarily as a banker, and the rational qualities and sense of responsibility where money was concerned were an essential part of his character. On the other hand the strong feelings aroused in him by irrationality in this sphere, and his fear and dislike of war, suggest the source of the energy which in other circumstances was differently employed. If the arts were for Henry the instruments for self-assertion, they were also the language of feeling and intuitive thought. The pride and ambition of the youthful portrait, modified by the knowledge that wealth and position were impotent in the face of death, remained characteristic of him. He still needed to elevate himself in the social hierarchy and, above all, he still needed an heir. The year in which he started the Pantheon was also that in which he allied himself with the Boyle family and in which Richard, third Earl of Burlington, died. The latter's Irish titles devolved on his cousin, John Boyle, Earl of Orrery, whose son, Lord Dungarvan, married Henry's daughter Susanna on May 11, 1753.

Lady Corke wrote later: "As my Lord had promised to comply with his Son's inclinations he made no hesitation in giving his Consent altho' she was of Birth far inferior to the Ladys of those Noble Houses from whom both my Lord and his Son were descended. This marriage was accordingly proposed to Mr. Hoare, and the Alliance most joyfully and thankfully embraced by him, who then appeared and expressed himself highly sensible of the Honour done to his Family by my Lord's acceptance of his Daughter as a Wife for Lord Dungarvan."¹⁵³ Henry settled on his daughter, "£25,000 in money; £1,000 for clothes, jewels estimated at £3,000 and his house in Lincolns Inn Fields for her life, which with the Furniture and Pictures left in it cost him £10,000. He also furnished the best apartment for them."¹⁵⁴ The pair settled in the Manor of Marston in Somerset where Lord Corke "to Gratify both his own and Lord Dungarvan's desire of ornamenting this Place had taken of[f] the roof of the House, very much adorn'd the outside, put in new Windows and Windowcases, Built a new staircase and made great alterations on the Inside [and] brought water which was a very Expensive Article as the Springs are far from the house and convey'd hither in Leden pipes."¹⁵⁵ He also "Enlarged and Beautified the Gardens [and] in all this the Plans were approved of or Designed by Lord Dungarvan whose Genius is very much inclined towards architecture."¹⁵⁶ Dungarvan thus had interests in common with his father-in-law, who perhaps found in him some compensation for the son he had lost. Dungarvan's name is associated in the ledger of 1757 with the purchase of Robert Wood's *Ruins of Balbec*;¹⁵⁷ and later

history, *The Hoare Family in Clapham*, Clapham Antiquarian Society, March 1959.

151. Cf. Fig. 41.

152. E. E. Smith, *John Brogden*, Clapham Antiquarian Society, February 1964. Mr. Smith, quoting an auctioneer's catalogue, says these were "by an Italian artist." There is no evidence of any such in Henry Hoare's accounts, but a large sum was paid to Arthur Pond (see below).

153. Account written by Margaret, Countess of Cork and

Orrery, of an estrangement between the Earl of Cork and Orrery and Henry Hoare, annotated by the latter. T(ST) 383.909.

154. *Ibid.*

155. *Ibid.*

156. *Ibid.*

157. Apr. 26, 1757, "By plans etc. of Balbec pr Lord Dungarvan . . . £3. 15." T(ST) 383.6.

that year there is an entry¹⁵⁸ "To Mr. Wilson Lord D.'s Friend painter for Romeo and Juliett."¹⁵⁹

The story¹⁶⁰ of Henry's relations with his son-in-law's aristocratic father must be briefly told because it is important for the understanding of his character. In improving Dungarvan's place at Marston, and also his own estate at Caledon in Ireland, Lord Corke had run considerably into debt.

So confused were his affairs that Henry Hoare agreed to become a trustee for the administration of his estates in order to liquidate the many debts. Lord and Lady Corke settled in Italy and received an annual sum of £800 for themselves and their family; other revenue was used by the trustees to repay their creditors. Relations were apparently cordial until Lord Corke discovered that he had to pay for the support of his son, Hamilton Boyle, out of the allowance. This produced a protest and resulted in a reciprocal coolness. "Who can think," wrote Henry, "that £800 p.an. neat out of that estate is not full as much as he could reasonably expect, or the creditors grant, since their whole Dependence is on his single thread of life, save only those bonds and debts of Lord Corke which Dear Lord Dungarvan was brought in to join him in."¹⁶¹ "I call heaven to witness that from my soul I exerted every power in me to extricate the family." But "these distresses Lord Corke has drawn on himself and the most shocking reflection of all is the possibility of his going into his grave without satisfying them."¹⁶² This was not however the end of the matter. Unknown to the trustees Lord Corke had obtained £1,422 of the money due to the creditors "and appropriated by a Solemn Deed of Trust under hand and seal to their use and benefit."¹⁶³ This shocked Henry "beyond utterance." Lady Corke affected incredulity. "As no uncivil letters had passed between my Lord and Mr. Hoare, we were amazed at his conduct towards us. His avoiding all intercourse kept us entirely in the dark to discover the motives of our great offence 'til by a letter that Mr. Hoare had written to his Partner in the Banker's Shop."¹⁶⁴ Hardly able to contain his feelings, Henry put the banker's case. "This deceit being detected is it to be wondered at that from that moment I altered my Conduct towards them and that I had the Spirit to show that I was not quite so tame an Animal as not to resent such treatment." "I then determined to adhere strictly to the terms of the Deeds of Trust and to go no further lengths for them." "Little did I expect . . . to be accused by Lord Corke of oppressions and insinuations of over-reaching him, but my Heart is Innocent as God is my judge, he will acquit me of that charge before all the World, in the great and terrible day."¹⁶⁵ All the answer his Lordship returned was that "heats and resentments was not the way to help him out of his difficulty."¹⁶⁶

The union of Susanna and Lord Dungarvan did not produce a son. Meanwhile, Henry had been planning for his younger daughter Anne (Nanny),¹⁶⁷ who was then seventeen, to marry her cousin Richard.¹⁶⁸ Family rumor had it that Richard's affection was settled on Nanny, but there

158. Nov. 7, 1757. T(ST) 383.6.

159. I am grateful to Professor H. W. Janson for pointing out that this is undoubtedly Benjamin Wilson (1721-1788), who after two years in Dublin, settled in London as a portrait painter and employed Zoffany in his studio. He was associated with David Garrick whom he painted as *Hamlet* and later in *Romeo and Juliet* with Mrs. Bellamy. Both pictures were published as prints, the first in 1754, the second in 1765. See E. K. Waterhouse, *Painting in Britain 1530-1790*, p. 228 and W. M. Merchant, *Shakespeare and the Artist*, Oxford, 1959, pl. 126, facing p. 64.

The Mr. Wilson whom Henry Hoare paid £30 for a landscape on Apr. 5, 1758, FS(Acc.), was more likely Richard Wilson from whom he bought a *Landscape of Avernus* in 1760, FS(Acc.), probably *The Lake of Nemi* listed by Colt Hoare in the *History of Modern Wiltshire*; he calls it *Speculum Dianae* in the schedule of pictures at Stourhead as left by Henry Hoare, T(ST) 383.9. This picture is referred to by W. G. Constable, *Richard Wilson*, London, 1953, p. 165 and is said to be an untraced version of pl. 23b. The

Catalogue of the Sale of Stourhead Heirlooms, 1883, lists two paintings by Richard Wilson, *Lake Nemi, with Diana and Her Nymphs* and *Italian River Scene*. The latter was bought by Colt Hoare and is now in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London. W. G. Constable, *op.cit.*, p. 215 and pl. 103a. Walpole mentioned no pictures by Richard Wilson at Stourhead in 1762.

160. An account of the estrangement between Lord Corke and Henry Hoare. T(ST) 383.909.

161. *Ibid.*

162. *Ibid.*

163. *Ibid.*

164. *Ibid.*

165. *Ibid.*

166. *Ibid.*

167. Anne Hoare, b. 1737, d. 1759.

168. Sir Richard Hoare, 1st Bart., d. 1787. Son of Henry Hoare's younger brother, Sir Richard Hoare Knt., who died in 1754.

is a suggestion that he was not altogether certain; perhaps she was marked with the smallpox she had taken when she was ten.¹⁶⁹ In any case it was clear that the inheritance of Stourhead was conditional on the acceptance of other responsibilities. "It is very obvious," Henry wrote to his brother, "how absolutely necessary it is that the strictest residence and attendance We and Our Fathers have given at Fleet Street should be continued in the person of my dear Nephew who would forfeit all claim of relief from his descendants, unless by following in the steps of his Predecessors he continues that care and example which has been to the credit, support and security of us all and without which the Possession so much envy'd us must unhappily be transferred into other hands. God forbid it!"¹⁷⁰ "Should his [Richard's] answer be favourable toward her, he may then be acquainted that her affections will sympathise with his, and that there is all reason to think there will be no love lost between them. Then the fair prospect of Worldly Interest and advantage may be laid open in a proper light so as to confirm his determination, with the indispensable necessity of their residence at Fleet Street, *as urged in my letter*, and of which she is so thoroughly convinced and satisfied that she makes no hesitation in cheerfully and readily consenting to whatever Her Care and Economy and example will keep up the character and established Credit of that House on which the *Name and Family* depends."¹⁷¹

He reiterated the theme in letters to his nephew whom he was preparing to succeed him. "I do not doubt your particular attention to the business at all times and especially in my absence and that you will not devolve that great Care and Concern on another who may be willing enough to take it on Him that His expectations may rise higher. . . . but it is our interest to keep down such expectations by our own attention to what ought to be the first and last of all our thoughts and the chief happy business and employmt of our whole lives. I with gratitude must allow I have always found it so. . . . I will not be robbed of that pleasure by the attendance offrd by others no oftener than is necessary for me to look after my concerns here which are trifling in comparison to that great one from whence all that we possess is derived."¹⁷² ". . . Whether at pleasure or Business let us be in earnest and ever active and be outdone or exceeded by none, that is the way to thrive."¹⁷³

But family and fortune were not all, ". . . As I am intent on recommending every Thing to you which may conduce to the real happyness of your Life, let me mention one thing which I and many others have drawn the Greatest Benefit from and that is the advantage which your Leisure hours at Fleet Street will give you. . . . of looking into Books and the pursuit of that knowledge which distinguishes only the Gentleman from the Vulgar and teaches Him to adorn the fortune he acquires or possesses and which, without the Lessons in History (which is Philosophy teaching by example) the most envied Height of Fortune *will not be enjoyed*."¹⁷⁴ As for Stourhead, "What is there in creation. . . . Those are the fruits of industry and application to Business and shows what great things may be done by it, the envy of the indolent who have no claim to Temples, Grottos, Bridges, Rocks, Exotick Pines and Ice in Summer. When those are won by the industrious, they have the best claim to them provided their foundations is laid by the Hand of Providence and supported by perseverance in well-doing and constant cautious watchfulness over the main Chance. Without it proud Versailles thy glory falls and Nero's terrasses dessert their walls,¹⁷⁵ so you could not go on your Via Charmdgiana, it is a pattern of perfection."¹⁷⁶

Nanny and Richard were married on March 20, 1756. Her first son died young. Her second,

169. Sept. 11, 1749, "By Mr. Rose Apothec. for Nanny in the Small Pox . . . £15. 15." "By Nurse Barker attendce Nanny in the Small Pox . . . £8. 8." T(ST) 383.6.

170. Henry Hoare to Sir Richard Hoare Knt. (brother), Sept. 8, 1754. FS.

171. H. H. to Sir Richard Hoare Knt., no date. FS.

172. H. H. to Richard Hoare (nephew), no date. FS.

173. H. H. to R. H., Jan. 28, 1755. FS.

174. H. H. to R. H., same as note 172.

175. Henry Hoare's own interpretation of the quotation from Pope's Epistle to Lord Burlington, *Moral Essays*, Epistle IV.

176. H. H. to R. H., Jan. 30, 1755. FS.

Richard Colt Hoare, was born in 1758. But Henry was again faced with a personal tragedy, for Nanny died the following May, not long before her twenty-second birthday, and Dungarvan died in September. All his hopes were now directed towards his grandson.

It is against the background of these personal events that the Pantheon was built, being virtually completed by 1757 with Hercules installed. During these years (1753-1757) Henry had also completed his house at Clapham. In this connection he paid the English painter, Arthur Pond, £304;¹⁷⁷ he also had pictures from Francis Harding¹⁷⁸ and John Wootton,¹⁷⁹ but seems to have bought no other paintings at this time. Rysbrack's next commission, for *Flora*, was not until 1759;¹⁸⁰ the only other payment for sculpture was to Cheere "for Busts at Barnes and Clapham."¹⁸¹ Henry appears to have engaged in no major building between 1755 and the early 1760's when he started the Temple of Apollo.¹⁸² This was the period of the Seven Years' War, a state of affairs he detested¹⁸³ and which might well have inhibited any undertaking of a relatively permanent nature. On the other hand personal tragedy seems to have stimulated his interest in the arts; in the period following the death of Anne and Dungarvan he was particularly active in purchasing pictures from the circle of painters and dealers surrounding Sir Horace Mann and Cardinal Albani. This admittedly began before Dungarvan's death, for the first recorded dealings with Mann are in July 1758,¹⁸⁴ in the April of which year there is an entry in Henry's ledger, "To himself for a picture of Gaspar Poussin . . . £57. 15."¹⁸⁵ This is presumably the one referred to in a letter from Mann to Horace Walpole and which Mann bought for Henry Hoare from the Arnaldi collection,¹⁸⁶ along with a painting by Carlo Maratta entitled *The Marchese Pallavinci Conducted to the Temple of Fame* containing, appropriately enough, at the right-hand top corner, a circular temple on a hill. It was as a companion to this picture that Henry commissioned the large painting of *Augustus and Cleopatra* (Fig. 47)¹⁸⁷ from Mengs. This picture is not only one of the few fully documented purchases by him of this kind, but from the surviving correspondence it would appear that the subjects had a personal importance and that in his iconography they were more specific forms of the male and female imagery represented in the garden by Hercules and the sleeping nymph.

It was Thomas Jenkins who, in June 1759, wrote to Henry, "I shall take any and every step in my power to dispose Mr. Mengs to exert his utmost in order to render your picture one of his best works."¹⁸⁸ Jenkins had come to Rome in 1753 with an introduction from Mann to Cardinal Albani.¹⁸⁹ He was also friendly with Richard Wilson with whom he shared a house.¹⁹⁰ Two years later, in 1755, a young painter called John Plimmer¹⁹¹ came to study with Wilson, and it was he who seemed directly concerned in the approach to Mengs. Plimmer wrote three

177. July 5, 1753, "By Mr. Pond for pictures at Clapham in part . . . £100." Mar. 8, 1754, "By Mr. Pond in full of all demands exceeds all computatn . . . £197. 4. 6." T(ST) 383.6.

178. July 30, 1753, "By Mr. Harding for a picture of Ruins for Sir Richd. and painting Mr. Arnold's Chinese Chimney . . . £23. 2." T(ST) 383.6.

179. Sept. 26, 1755, "By Mr. Wootton for a picture, frame and packing in full . . . £45." T(ST) 383.6.

180. Agreement dated Mar. 14, 1759. T(ST) 383.4.

181. Jan. 25, 1754. T(ST) 383.6.

182. The Temple of Apollo was completed, except for certain details, in 1765. See letter quoted below, note 252, H. H. to Lord Bruce Dec. 9, 1765. TOT.

183. "War fierce lookg War is ding'd in our ears." H. H. to R. H. (nephew), Jan. 28, 1755, FS. "The City regardless of stoping the Effusion of human Blood think of nothing but the Gold offered in Mexico." H. H. to Lord Bruce, Nov. 6, 1762, T(TOT). See also H. H. to Lord Bruce, May 13, 1776, TOT, note 292.

184. July 20, Aug. 2, Sept. 18, payments totalling £570.

FS(Acc.).

185. FS(Acc.).

186. See article by F. St. John Gore, "Prince of Georgian Collectors," *Country Life*, CXXXV, 1964, p. 210.

187. At present in the Picture Gallery at Stourhead. A second version of this painting was included in the Mengs exhibition at the Prado in 1929, Cat. No. 3.

188. Thomas Jenkins to Henry Hoare, June 6, 1759. T(ST) 383.907.

189. Lesley Lewis, *Connoisseurs and Secret Agents*, London, 1961, p. 167.

190. Brinsley Ford, "The Dartmouth Collection of Drawings by Richard Wilson," *Burlington Magazine*, xc, 1948, p. 337.

191. Basil C. Skinner, "A Note on Four British Artists in Rome," *Burlington Magazine*, xcix, 1957, p. 237; and W. G. Constable, *Richard Wilson*, London, 1953, pp. 37 and 140. There is a map by a John Plimmer, dated 1723, in the Stourhead Archive, T(ST) 383.314. This might well be the father of the painter.

days after Jenkins to say he had ordered Mengs to proceed immediately and be finished by Christmas. He continued, "He hopes you will not insist on his opening the picture with arches etc. . . . he thinking it wide of the subject which was in a sepulchre. . . . he has ornamented with pilasters, neaches, idols etc. in the Egyptian taste. . . . nor do I think it will be a disagreeable companion to your Carlo Maratti in the Manner in which he has treated it. . . ." ¹⁹² Plimmer said he was obliged for Henry's advice to take classical views about Naples, as Mr. Wilson had done, and would take as many others as possible. "As to what you recommend in the management of the leafing of Trees, I have endeavoured to imitate Claude and Nature with as much care as I possibly could ever since Mr. Wilson left Rome and I have been my own master." ¹⁹³ Two pictures he mentioned the previous year had been finished that spring and he would let Henry know where they could be seen in England. He added, "I beg you will inform me if you would have me to send your copy of Claudio separate or wait till Mr. Mengs's Picture shall be finished." ¹⁹⁴ Jenkins assured Henry of Plimmer's excellence. "I am glad to find my friend Mr. Plimmer is much in your good opinion. I can safely say he is without comparison the best Land-skip Painter we have at this time in Italy and is allowed to be such by all the Dilletanti here. He has and does study Claude with success as I believe you will think when you see his works. The Early part of Mr. Plimmer's Education having been the study of Architecture has been of real advantage to him as it enables him to finish his Pictures with Elegance and I doubt not but you will be of this opinion when you see his works and you will find likewise that his figures have real merit in them." ¹⁹⁵

At the same time Jenkins was actively engaged in persuading Henry to buy other pictures. "I am at this time in treaty for a capitol picture by Guido. It represents Andromeda with Perseus and the figure of Andromeda is the [illegible] of nature, the head of which is the most divine character I ever knew. . . . if I get it probably shall I keep it by me. . . . until I return to England? . . . I perfectly agree with you Sir, that no picture ought to be esteemed for the name of an author only, if there be not *real* merit to recommend it and I am obliged to you for the favour of your opinion on that subject." ¹⁹⁶

By April 1760 Henry was still waiting for his Mengs and Jenkins apologized for the delay. Henry's interest in Cleopatra had obviously been stimulated by a painting by Guercino, ¹⁹⁷ for Jenkins wrote:

I beg you will be assured of you having an Excellent Picture, for I know Mr. Mengs's real Merit, otherwise I would not venture to say so much in his favour. The picture you mention by Guercino formerly in the . . . Pallace now in the Capitol has Merit in it, but Elegance of form or Expression was not always that Author's good fortune to Excel in and he has been deficient in both his Cleopatra and Augustus, his Cleopatra in Particular has nothing lovely in her which is a Capital Error. Guercino has great force of light and shadow and if his other talents had been equal to that he would have been wonderful; he was nevertheless a great Painter and so difficult it is to arrive at any degree of Excellence in this art that great allowance ought to be made for defects when a man arrives to a degree of excellence in it. I speak the freer to you, Sir, on this subject being persuaded of your *real* judgment and of course your Sensibility to the merits of a picture. Defects will strike the Common Eye as will a General Style of merit and expression but it is the Eye of the intelligent only that truly distinguishes the delicacy of expression which is the Soul of Painting. ¹⁹⁸

It was about this time that the painter William Hoare of Bath ¹⁹⁹ became associated with Stourhead. He was not a blood relation but his daughter married Henry's other nephew, the brother

192. John Plimmer to Henry Hoare, June 9, 1759. T(ST) 383.907.

193. *Ibid.*

194. *Ibid.*

195. Thomas Jenkins to Henry Hoare, June 6, 1759. T(ST) 383.907.

196. *Ibid.* Jenkins subsequently sold the *Perseus and Andromeda* to Lord Fordwich. See note 210.

197. Presumably the one in the Capitoline Gallery.

198. T. J. to H. H., Apr. 23, 1760. T(ST) 383.907.

199. William Hoare, R.A., 1707-1792; studied in Italy 1728-1737; pupil of Imperiali and friend of Batoni; settled in Bath 1738, where he was the leading portraitist until the arrival of Gainsborough in 1759. See Waterhouse, *Painting in Britain 1530 to 1790*, p. 155.

of Richard, in 1765. The first recorded payment is on July 23, 1759 "By Mr. Hoare for Helen, Paris, Cluna Soror & Venus etc. Stourhd . . . £100."²⁰⁰ Thereafter he received £1,430 up to 1770.²⁰¹ There are a number of his pastels at Stourhead, competent and rather sentimentally erotic renderings of children and young girls.²⁰² But he was also employed in the Pantheon where, according to Walpole, he invented the "four benches in beautiful Classic style . . . and painted with the history of Cupid and Psyche."²⁰³

The letter William Hoare wrote in June 1760 shows some degree of intimacy. He thanked Henry for the kind wishes to his daughter.

She has finished her subject of Virtue and Peace and shall be glad to show it you, and the other of Health and Temperance is in hand. I intend two other subjects of the same sort to accompany, if I can suit them. It is my endeavour and desire to make the subjects she is employed in a lesson to herself as well as an exercise of her Ingenuity. She has taken a hint from your Poussin but made it her own and very different from that, which I hope you will think no Robbery. I am greatly obliged to you for sending me the charming Piece of Ovid; it is very evident that Carrache has taken his idea from it; the assemblage of the Figure is the same, but the Lovers I have always thought are injudiciously placed with their backs to each other, which nothing but their being drunk can excuse; then Ariadne is not handsome, nor has Bacchus the Gentleness Ovid and the Antique Sculptors have ascribed to him.²⁰⁴

He went on, a propos a book by "Mr. Webb,"²⁰⁵ to give some of his views on painters and painting. "Antique pictures like bass-relievos make no attempt of Perspectives or backgrounds of gradual distances so as to give depth as well as width to their pictures." Raphael "so perforated his Picture as to open a space incredible, where the Antients would have nothing at all. . . . Guido, Domenichino I place next to Raphael. . . . Corregio has my admiration and indulgence, but surely Lionardo do Vinci has been exalted beyond his merits. His life writers have flattered him and all his works, which indeed are not without an attempt of grace and roundness, but there is too much of black and discordancy in his shades, and he borders always on caricatures. Is there any comparison between his grimacing figures at his last supper and the noble idea of the Apostles of Raphael?"²⁰⁶

It was evident that some did not defer to Henry's view. "I find you will always have some Points to settle with Mr. Adams, but I hope they will never be settled, for I would not for the world have his vehemence and emphasis abated. Mr. Adams will not be himself without it. I am sure he honours your taste in reality. I walked with him the other day to his Casino, which is now decorating with papers, and which he informed me were such as you preferred to all others for hanging Pictures, a red with a small flower and which is indeed very rich."²⁰⁷

There is a postscript, "I know you have a favourite Sleeping Nymph in your Garden. I have made another in a dress something different, which I must beg your acceptance of, just as a memorial that I am very much in your Debt. I wait for its frame from London."²⁰⁸ But it is likely that Henry himself was then preoccupied with *Cleopatra*, whose dispatch from Rome he now awaited. This, together with a copy of Claude, was announced by Plimmer on July 12.²⁰⁹ The latter died during the following twelve months, as Jenkins wrote from Rome on July 25, 1761 "your kindness Sir, with respect to the heirs of poor Mr. Plimmer is very great."²¹⁰ The same

200. July 23, 1759. T(ST) 383.6.

201. 1760: £200, T(ST) 383.6; 1764: £400, T(ST) 383.6, FS(Acc.); 1765: £500, T(ST) 383.6, FS(Acc.); 1766: £200, T(ST) 383.6, FS(Acc.); 1770: £30, FS(Acc.); 1772: £100, FS(Acc.).

202. Mr. St. John Gore points out that some of these are portraits of the children of Sir Richard Hoare, 1st Bart., by his second wife, after Anne Hoare's death, and so probably came to Stourhead after 1785.

203. Horace Walpole, *Visits to Country Seats*, p. 42.

204. William Hoare, R.A., to Henry Hoare, June 5, 1760. T(ST) 383.907.

205. Daniel Webb, *An Inquiry into the Beauties of Painting*

and into the Merits of the Most Celebrated Painters Ancient and Modern, London, 1760.

206. William Hoare to Henry Hoare, June 5, 1760. T(ST) 383.907.

207. *Ibid.*

208. *Ibid.*

209. John Plimmer to H. H., July 12, 1760. T(ST) 383.907.

210. Thomas Jenkins to Henry Hoare, July 25, 1761. T(ST) 383.907. This letter also contains Jenkins' account of an episode mentioned by Lesley Lewis, *Connoisseurs and Secret Agents*, p. 188. The engraver, Robert Strange, had said that there was another version of the *Perseus and Andromeda*

letter acknowledged Henry's, expressing satisfaction with Mengs's painting. "I am very glad your Picture continues to please, but to say the truth it is a very great good fortune when a painter has the happiness to be employed by a gentleman of real judgment."²¹¹

That year, Mengs himself accepted an offer from the king of Spain, of 12,000 crowns a year, an apartment in the palace, and one of the king's coaches. "Before he left Rome," Jenkins wrote, "I purchased everything I possibly could from Mr. Mengs. . . . and I am now master of his finest work, being. . . . the Holy Family that he painted for the King of Poland."²¹²

The criticism of *Cleopatra*, therefore, which Henry had made known to him, roused resentment.

I am exceeding glad that you have so good a Picture of him as your Superior Judgment renders you worthy of it. As to all objection, at least the Major part of them will by degrees fall to the ground. If I mistake not the Person whom you mean. . . . he being a man who has not succeeded in his first attempts as a Painter and not being able to get up at others may endeavour to pull them down to him. I say perhaps it is so, tho' I shall be glad to find myself mistaken; but certainly by the method taken by him to cover one part of a picture and then judge of the other is *weak* and *fallacious* for the excellence of a part greatly consists as it corresponds to the whole of a work, consequently ought to be seen altogether by those who will be desirous of forming a true and impartial judgement.²¹³

Mengs had taken his subject from *The Life of Mark Anthony* by Plutarch. "A few days after the death of Mark Anthony, Caesar made Cleopatra a visit of condolence. She was then in an undress, and lying negligently on a couch, but when the Conqueror entered the apartment, though she had nothing on but a single robe, she arose hastily, and threw herself at his feet; her hair dishevelled, her voice trembling, her eyes sunk; in short, her person gave you the image of her mind; yet, in this deplorable condition, there were some remains of that Grace, that Spirit and Vivacity, which had so peculiarly animated her former charms; and still some gleams of her native elegance might be seen to wander over her melancholy countenance."²¹⁴ The criticism concerned the figure of Cleopatra. Mengs wrote defending himself.²¹⁵

The favorable things which Henry had said of him would have left him untouched if he had not been assured of their sincerity by the gentle criticism with which they had been accompanied. Of course there were faults in his painting. He was only human! He had almost foreseen the criticism of Cleopatra. It was the penalty for departing from the conventional image of her. And, moreover, if other painters had been made to remove from their pictures everything which was incorrect regarding history of manners what would be left by way of beauty?²¹⁶ He went on to explain why he had represented Cleopatra on her knees, her face upturned, her arms outstretched in supplication. How otherwise could he indicate the inner state without the prostration of her body? She is not really small if you consider that her back is bent, her shoulders hunched and she is almost shrunk into herself. The subject of his picture was a delicate, subtle character, not someone sustained by virtue. She was splendid only in her seductiveness. Unlike a Doric temple,²¹⁷ whose beauty did not depend on ornament, she was like a Corinthian temple, depending on orna-

by Guido Reni which Jenkins had sold to Lord Fordwich, who was therefore afraid his was a copy. Fortunately it was possible to compare the two and Strange agreed that Lord Fordwich's picture was original. This satisfied Lord Fordwich; "Notwithstanding which," Jenkins wrote, "there have not been wanting persons here who have given out that My Ld. Fordwich had paid £1500 for what was not worth more than £500—Knowing Sir your Good Nature and regard for truth I have taken the Liberty to refer this to you, that in case you should hear it misrepresented that you may be enabled to set any person right and it is of Consequence to me that you should know the truth."

²¹¹. *Ibid.*

²¹². *Ibid.*

²¹³. T. J. to H. H., Aug. 29, 1761. T(ST) 383.907.

²¹⁴. Quoted by Colt Hoare, *History of Modern Wiltshire*,

1, p. 79. Did Henry Hoare choose the subject? It would have been characteristic. Cf. letter on Alfred's Tower, note 236.

²¹⁵. A. R. Mengs to Henry Hoare, June 27, 1761, original in French. T(ST) 383.907. This, together with Henry's letter to Mengs quoted below were published in *Annals of the Fine Arts*, London, 1818, II, pp. 492ff. See Colt Hoare, *History of Modern Wiltshire*, p. 79. Mengs's letter, in Italian, was also published in N. de Azara's *Opere di Antonio Raffaello Mengs*, C. Fea, ed., Rome, 1787, pp. 370ff. I am indebted to Mr. Michael Levey for this information.

²¹⁶. Cf. Francis Haskell, *Patrons and Painters*, London, 1963, pp. 352ff., for discussion of "pictorial scholarship" in relation to Tiepolo's *Banquet of Cleopatra*.

²¹⁷. Cf. N. Poussin in *Artists on Art*, edited by R. Goldwater and M. Treves, English ed., London, 1947, p. 153.

ment for its grandeur, and here "I have given you only the ruins of it, Sir!" It would have been a mistake in painting if, in a subject with so few figures he had given the same grandeur to both. But, if his Cleopatra suddenly returned to health and strength, rose to her knees, straightened her back; if her mouth resumed its gay and vivacious expression and her cheek regained its color; if she had once more her clothes and her jewelry, then perhaps she would appear as a building resplendent with gold and marble, making Augustus, the simple Doric one, seem like a working man dressed in homespun. So what could he have added or left out which would not have made his picture ambiguous, like that of Guercino,²¹⁸ in which it is impossible to say whether it is Cleopatra with Julius Caesar, Mark Anthony or Augustus? Her appearance should be something which changes according to the circumstances. Next time he will find out what is his patron's taste, because he quite understands that he is the one the painter must attempt to please. Meanwhile, "I can only beg you to believe that I have neglected nothing to serve you well."

Henry put the onus of criticism on others,²¹⁹ but he obviously had a nagging feeling of disappointment, almost inevitable, in view of his personal interest in the subject of which, whether from Guercino or not, he had his own preconceived image. He complimented Mengs on the strength of his arguments and the shrewdness of his remarks. Never had a picture been so generally admired. There was only one small point in which it fell short of "true perfection." But, "after all, critics are not infallible, they can very easily be mistaken in so delicate an idea, where imagination perhaps surpasses what the brush can achieve." The difficulty that Mengs said he felt in his work was proof that he had deepened it. Mediocre geniuses did not see difficulties, so it was no wonder that they did not attempt to overcome them. The face of Augustus was proof that Mengs was on the way to become the successor to Raphael. Even in Cleopatra no one would say that he had not depicted her suffering. One would say that he had penetrated very deeply into her inner state of mind, which is shown by the prostration of the body; one sees a defeated woman; her fate is to be pitied; her misery speaks, but the queenly quality which should be seen in spite of her misfortunes, seems a little lacking. "These gentlemen" said it would not have harmed the nobility of Augustus to have given some to Cleopatra. It would have been clear from her posture that she was Augustus's prisoner. It was no good asking them to imagine her when she was happy, with all the liveliness returned to her face. The "cursed critics" insisted that she was no queen. "My dear Sir, let them say it; I am perfectly happy with my picture."

This was not quite true and it is possible to sympathize with Henry. He was looking for the Queen of Egypt in defeat and what he had was a person of no importance caught by her master in some misdemeanor.

It is perhaps worthwhile to examine the attitudes expressed in these letters. Anton Raphael Mengs was thirty-one at the time of the commission. He had by 1760 achieved considerable success. In 1752 he had been one of those artists recommended by Mann to make copies of paintings in the Farnese Gallery for the Earl of Northumberland's house in the Strand; and he had recently completed a *Parnassus* for Cardinal Albani.²²⁰ Mengs was not a typical painter of his time and as an exponent of Neoclassicism might be said to have been avant-garde.²²¹ His temperament thus accorded with Henry's Palladian bias which was however now almost conservative at a time when the movement was toward the picturesque and the romantic view of nature. Mengs on his own testimony, might be called an eclectic. "The painter, wishing to hit upon the best taste, should learn it from the following four masters; from the antique a taste for beauty; from Raphael a taste for significance and expression; from Correggio a taste for agree-

218. Presumably the painting referred to by Jenkins. See note 197.

219. Letter in French dated "Londres le 27 Juliet 1761,"

unsigned but undoubtedly from Henry Hoare. T(ST) 383.907.

220. Lesley Lewis, *op.cit.*, p. 201.

221. Cf. Francis Haskell, *op.cit.*, p. 348.

ableness and harmony; from Titian a taste for truth and colour."²²² His aim, as he expressed it in the letter to Henry Hoare, was a kind of literalness. There is no trace of sensuousness in the paint of *Augustus and Cleopatra*; nothing in the waxlike uniformity of surface to distract from "the clarity of the subject." Now there may be agreement over the correctness of external appearance and matters of historic accuracy; even a mutual understanding of the symbolism implied by Doric and Corinthian; but clarity in communicating "a state of the soul" by "prostration of the body" is a much more delicate problem. Henry summed up the situation when he wrote, "Imagination perhaps surpasses what the brush can achieve," and his remark may represent a turning away from the classical formula toward a romantic one. This alters the nature of communication, for clarity presupposes a degree of certainty in the interpretation of the message. "Picturesque" imagery does not appeal to the reason; the imagination thrives on ambiguity, and the painterly tradition speaks to the irrational through the senses.

Reference has previously been made to Henry Hoare's iconography, and this is perhaps the place for the writer to say what he understands by this. While gardens and picture collections are made to enhance the prestige of the owners, art is a symbol-making activity, giving outward form to inward states because only in this way can they be experienced and assimilated. Symbolic forms, rich in associations, crystallize ideas and feelings which otherwise escape definition; their existence enables individuals whose own vague thoughts and feelings are otherwise unformulated, to participate in a collective ritual with others, as we shall see in some of Henry Hoare's later letters. At one level the iconography of Stourhead is drawn from the classical sources accepted at the time, particularly from the *Aeneid*; at another it represents Henry's own hopes and aspirations; at yet another we can only guess at the significance of the pattern (repeated later in Alfred's Tower and the Convent) of raising an obelisk on the hill, while at the same time, over the springs in the valley he built a temple to the Mother Goddess and enclosed a nymph in a cave. There is no doubt that Henry was not alone in extolling paternal authority, which was a recurring theme whether in building a memorial or protesting his loyalty to George III,²²³ and of which Augustus (besides continuing the imagery from the *Aeneid*)²²⁴ is another representative. And what of Cleopatra, who had previously appeared in the Grotto? She was a femme fatale ruled by instinct and emotion, surely that other principle of human nature with whose relation to reason Pope's generation had been so much preoccupied.²²⁵

Of the "eight very large pictures"²²⁶ which Walpole saw in the great salon, the room originally intended as a chapel, one was the *Family of Charles I* after Van Dyck, a second, *Midas Preferring Pan to Apollo*, and a third, *Wisdom Accompanying Hercules*. The remaining five showed Salome, Dido, Helen, Venus and Andromeda. Archetypal woman might be banned in the church, but she was back in the house with a vengeance. Nevertheless Henry put *Augustus and Cleopatra* in the entrance hall, together with the *Marchese Pallavinci* and his own large equestrian portrait, so there was no question which principle was meant to be dominant.

IV

Shortly after Plimmer's despatch of *Augustus and Cleopatra*, Dungarvan's widow, Susanna, married Lord Bruce²²⁷ of Tottenham Park, and for the remainder of Henry Hoare's life there were very close relations between Savernake and Stourhead, tinged on Henry's part with the deference he felt due to his son-in-law. Advice, particularly on estate matters, was sought and

222. A. R. Mengs in *Artists on Art*, pp. 245-246.

223. Henry Hoare to Lord Bruce, Dec. 4, 1762. T(TOT). Cf. note 239.

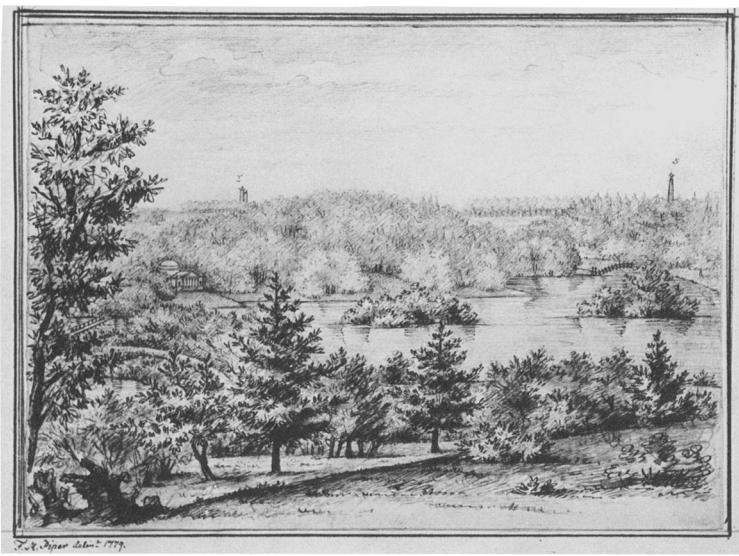
224. Virgil, *The Aeneid*, Jackson Knight, trans., pp. 223-224. Part of the imagery on the shield given to Aeneas by Venus.

225. Pope, *Essay on Man* 2, line 53.

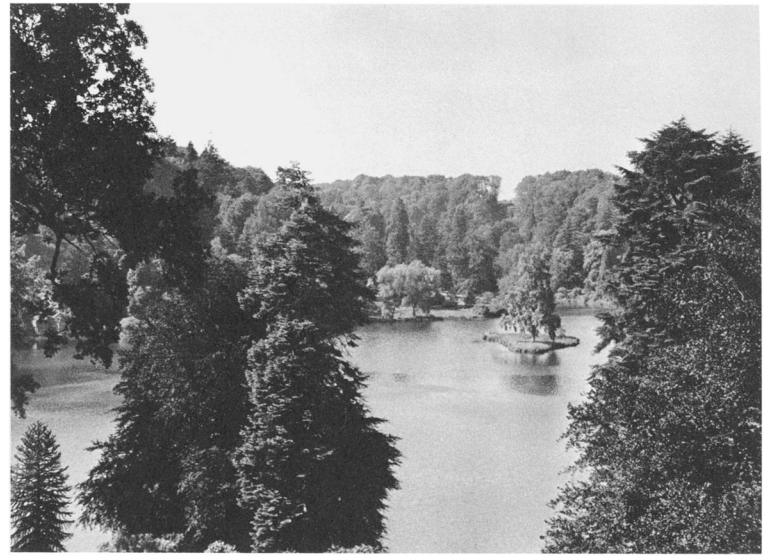
Two Principles in human nature reign;
Self-love, to urge, and Reason, to restrain.

226. Horace Walpole, *Visits to Country Seats*, p. 43.

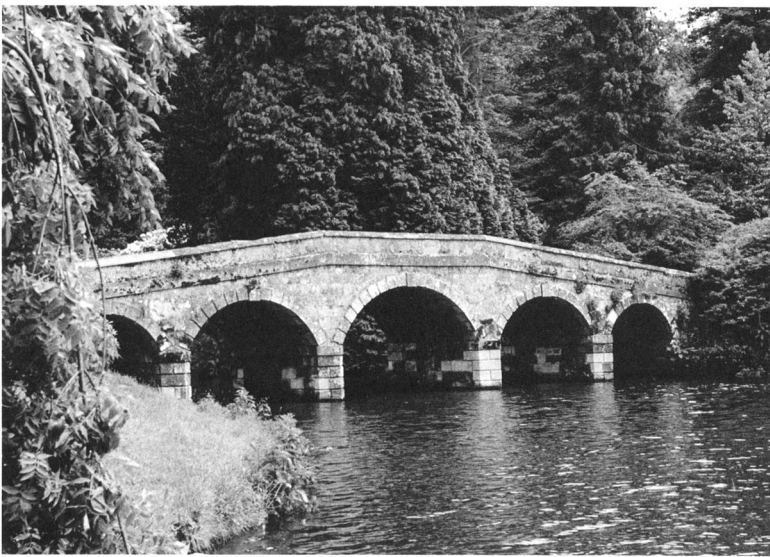
227. Thomas Bruce Brundenell, Lord Bruce of Tottenham, created first Earl of Ailesbury, 1779.



36. F. M. Piper, *View from the Hermitage at Stourton*, 1779, showing Obelisk and Wooden Palladian Bridge, right; Alfred's Tower and Pantheon, left. Stockholm, Academy of Fine Arts (photo: R.I.B.A.)



37. View from the Temple of Apollo (photo: K. Woodbridge)



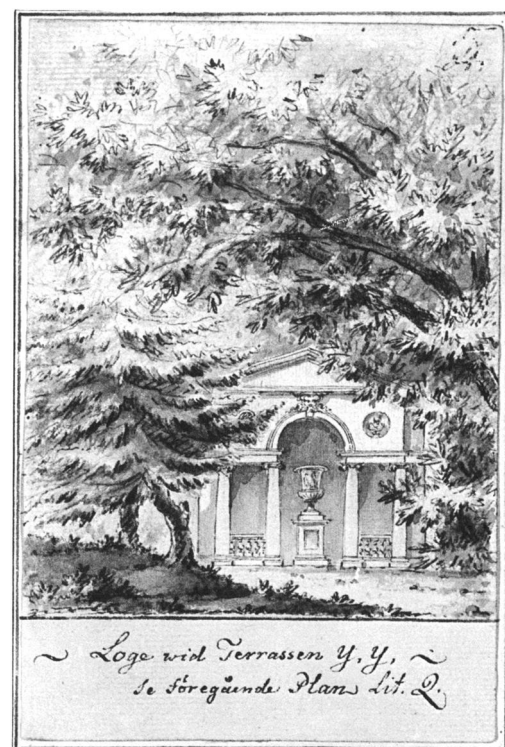
38. The Palladian Bridge (photo: K. Woodbridge)



39. View from the Mount of Diana, 1964 (photo: K. Woodbridge)



40. Flitcroft, *Alfred's Tower*, Stourhead (photo: K. Woodbridge)



41. F. M. Piper, *Loge wid Terrassen*, Stourton Stockholm, Academy of Fine Arts (photo: R.I.B.A.)



42. The Convent, Stourhead (photo: National Trust)



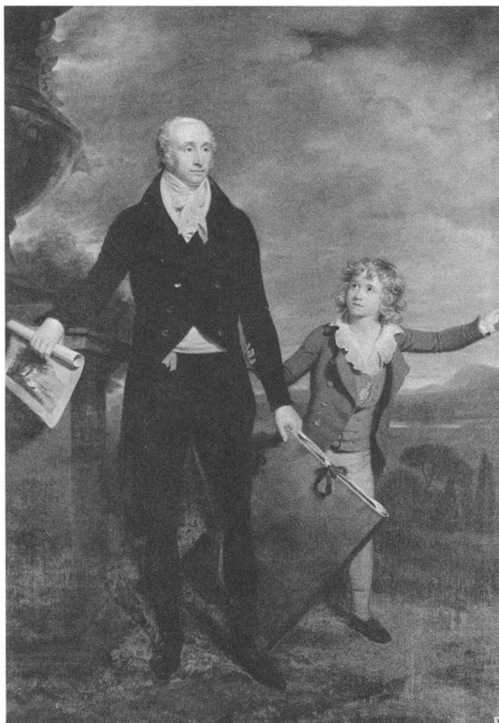
43. Claude Lorrain, *Coast View of Delos with Aeneas*. London, National Gallery (photo: National Gallery)



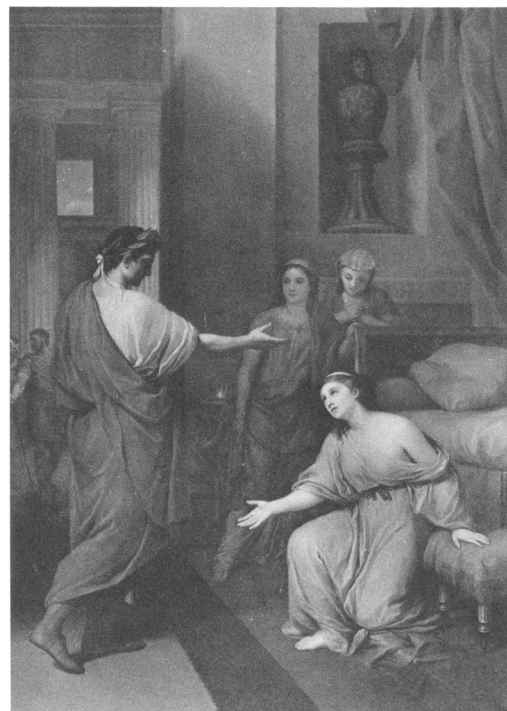
44. Wootton and Dahl, *Henry Hoare II on a Horse*, Stourhead (Courtesy of the National Trust; photo: Courtauld Institute of Art)



45. William Hoare? *Henry Hoare II* (Courtesy of the National Trust; photo: Courtauld Institute of Art)



46. Samuel Woodforde, *Sir Richard Colt Hoare and His Son* (Courtesy of the National Trust; photo: Courtauld Institute of Art)



47. A. R. Mengs, *Augustus and Cleopatra*, Stourhead (Courtesy of the National Trust; photo: Courtauld Institute of Art)

given; and when Brown was called upon to improve Savernake in 1764,²²⁸ it was Henry Hoare's rough sketch²²⁹ which interpreted the great man's intention. Lancelot Brown had left Stowe in 1750 and by 1762²³⁰ was at the height of his triumphant progress through the English landscape. But Stourhead, though one among many, was by then a showplace described by Walpole as "one of the most picturesque scenes in the world."²³¹ The walk round the lake "over a wooden Palladian bridge with urns," through the Grotto "lost in the wood," culminated in the Pantheon which few buildings exceeded in "magnificence, taste and beauty."²³² Apart from the Temple of Apollo, which may already have been planned, the classic or Virgilian stage of the garden was finished. "My dear Sukey," Henry wrote to Susanna on October 23, 1762:

I wrote my last letter in a violent hurry & now I recollect I shall want Wilmot when you have quite done with him anytime before Xmas. It is to run over the alto Relievos [&] plaster Susanna with Turpentine oyl to take off the Gloss or shining & then I think they will give universal Content. I thought old Rysbrack would have wept for joy to see his Offspring placed to such advantage. He thinks it impossible for such a space to have more magnificence in it and striking awe than he found there. Had he seen Mr. Hamilton's Temple of Bacchus He would not have thought so of the inside. It is an oblong, the Form of the Temple of Fortuna Virilis or the Long Temple of Balbec. The Bacchus²³³ a Noble Statue stands in the Centre & turns a profile to you as you enter. Windows are on the other end & in my poor opinion the figure (truly Antique) is lost or hurt in a Temple built on purpose for it. He was vastly struck at my Rotundo & said there was not a thought or a wish but what was not gratified in it. The outside of His Temple is in the true Greek Taste a portico to each end & Columns all round the sides. The Pediments filld with Bass Relievos & as the Duchess said of mine, is all Attic Elegance. She was much pleased with the Stone Bridge [Fig. 38] of 5 arches you allways wishd I would build at the passage into the orchard & the scheme of carrying the water up and loosing out of sight towards the parish. This Bridge is now about. It is simple & plain. I took it from Palladios Bridge at Vicenza, 5 arches, & when you stand at The Pantheon the Water will be seen thro the Arches & it will look as if the River came down thro the Village & that this was the Village Bridge for publick use; the View of the Bridge, Village & Church altogether will be a Charmg Gaspd picture at the end of that Water. Mr. Privets Estimate for His Stone Carrge of it is £53. The Arches I turn with my rough stone. I have one Scheme more which will Crown or Top all. As I was reading Voltaire's L'Histoire Générale lately in His Character of Alfred the Great He says Je ne sai s'il y a jamais eu sur la terre un homme si digne des respects de la postérité qu'Alfred le Grand qui rendit ces services a sa patrie. Out of gratitude to him I propose (if I can find a Quar of Stone²³⁴ in Little Coomb which they tell me I shall) to erect a Tower on Kingsettle Hill²³⁵ where He set up His Standard after He came from His concealment in the Isle of Athelney near Taunton & the Earl of Devon had worsted the Danes. I propose consulting Dear Lord Bruce on the inscription over the Door or entrance. I intend to build it on the plan of Sn. Marks Tower at Venice, 100 foot to the Room which the Staircase will lead to & 4 Arches to look out in the 4 sides to the prospect Allround. The stairs being of Stone will go up with the building & save the expense of a scaffold every 20 feet high will cost 50£ & it will be 4 years in hand about 75£ or £80 pr annm. My best Affections and Respects attend Dear Lord Bruce. It is said yesterday the Council sat on a genl. peace or War—nothing transpires. I hope in God it will be the former. Adieu, My Dear Sukey, your ever Loving Father.²³⁶

The picturesque scene by the village, even though the bridge was Palladian, was a departure from the hitherto classical imagery. The naïve rivalry with Hamilton over his Temple of Bacchus was capped by a tower nearly three times the height of the Belvedere²³⁷ at Painshill. The monument

228. Dorothy Stroud, *Capability Brown*, London, rev. ed., 1957, p. 100.

229. The sketch is a very slight penciled plan, TOT. Henry Hoare in fact urged Lord Bruce to consult Brown about his improvements. "I hope Your Lordship will consult Mr. B. on your intended improvements . . . as he will be the only person & Witham the only Park that will send fat oxen & Bulls of Basan to Smithfield Market next winter," H. H. to Lord Bruce, undated. TOT, 3259-3266.

230. Capability Brown's first commission in Wiltshire had been Longleat, 1757, D. Stroud, *op.cit.*, p. 55. He did extensive work for Paul Methuen at Corsham in 1760-1772, *ibid.*, pp. 67ff.; and for Lord Shelburne at Bowood in 1761-1768, *ibid.*, pp. 70ff.

231. Horace Walpole, *Visits to Country Seats*.

232. *Ibid.*

233. An antique colossal statue of Bacchus said to have cost £3,000. It was eventually bought by Beckford and taken to Fonthill. G. Nares, "Painshill," *Country Life*, CXXIII, 1958, p. 62. See also notes 71 and 75.

234. The tower was made of brick. Perhaps, therefore, it was the difficulty of finding material which delayed construction.

Colt Hoare, *History of Modern Wiltshire*, p. 68, says the triangular form was adopted to break the violence of the winds. The date is wrongly given as 1722.

235. To the northwest of the lake, not on the map (Fig. 1).

236. Henry Hoare to Lady Bruce, Oct. 23, 1762. TOT.

237. G. Nares, "Painshill," p. 62.

to this new hero,²³⁸ new to Stourhead that is, incorporated a number of themes dear to Henry's heart. It celebrated the power of the monarchy. "As to His enemys do thou cloth Them with Shame but on himself and His posterity may the Crown flourish & God forbid They should snatch The Sceptre out of His Hand so long as He glorys in the Name of Briton & detests German connections *as surely as Mr. P--t did.*"²³⁹ It celebrated peace (and victory) although ironically only completed shortly before the next disastrous war.²⁴⁰ And Alfred was, of course, the successor to Augustus and "the Father of his People,"²⁴¹ as the final inscription on the tower reads. Henry communicated the first draft to his son-in-law six weeks later.

As your Lordship is my bosom Friend & desirous of knowing the Inscription proposed on a Tablet for Alfred's Tower which I propose beginning next spring I beg leave to send you this rude undigested sketch for abler pens to alter & finish & hope Your Lordship will be so good as to consider it.

In memory of Alfred the Great, The Founder of the English Monarchy, The 1st encourager of Learning He founded the University of Oxford. The Giver of most excellent Laws, Jurys, the Bulwark of English Liberty. He instituted with a *well regulated Militia*, divided England into Shires or Countys & by a determined courage & unwearied attention to the increase of our Naval Force protected us from Foreign Invasions & extended our Trade to the remote parts of The Globe. He was the complete Model of that perfect Character, which, under the Name of a Sage, the Philosophers have been fond of delineating, rather as a fiction of Their imagination, than in hopes of ever seeing it reduced to practice.

Britons will revere the Ashes of that Monarch by whose Lessons They have (under the protection of Divine Providence) subdued Their Enemys this year with invincible Force by Land & Sea, in Europe, Asia, Africa & America, stopd the Effusion of human blood & given peace & rest to the Earth.

Erected, Anno Dom: 1762 in the 3d. Glorious Year of the Reign of our truely British King George the 3d. on that spot where Alfred settled his Standard (to this day called Kingsettle Hill) after He came out from His concealment in the Isle of Athelney (near Taunton) & gave Battle & defeat to the Danes.

I take the form of this Tower from that of St. Marks at Venice which finishes in a Pyramid. Mr. Rysbrack has a figure of Fame which he would part with on very reasonable Terms which [if] I could introduce in this Building I would; Sir William Wyndham bespoke it for His park at Orchard Wyndham. It had the Medallion of Queen Ann in its hand. On His decease Sir Charles (now Lord Egremont) would not take it so it was on His hands. After the Battle of Culloden, Rysbrack put the Duke of Cumberland's Head in the Place of Queen Ann, which provoked the Duchess of Queensbury prodigiously & she told me she hoped He never would get rid of it, & hates him for it. Now if I have it I shall beg leave to take out the Duke's Head & put in Alfred the Great's Does your Lordship think this will go down with Her Grace? If not Fame shall embrace Her Head which set the World once on fire. I congratulate Your Lordship on the preliminaries being ratified & am bold to say it has saved this Nation exposing its Beggary as I have good grounds to believe they could as soon have raised from the Dead all our Heroes that have fallen in Battle as have raised 12 millions more this Year. . . . Most, I may say all thinking people, even in the city, like the Peace in their Hearts well & think better of it every Day as they see the scarcity of money till the Havannah Treasures arrive.²⁴²

Henry does not appear to have bought *Fame*²⁴³ which was in Rysbrack's sale in 1767; but at some time Alfred the Great was substituted for the Duke of Cumberland, as Henry proposed. Henry bought a bust of Alfred which he paid for in 1764.²⁴⁴ This was Rysbrack's last work for Stourhead as both he and Flitcroft died within a year of each other at the end of the decade.²⁴⁵ Alfred's Tower (Fig. 40) was thus also Flitcroft's last design for Henry and one which he did not live to see achieved. Except for its attenuated form, the triangular brick structure, 160 feet high, does not carry out Henry's original intention, but has a crenellated top and Gothic detail like

238. R. Gunnis, *Dictionary of British Sculptors*, s.v. "Rysbrack." Rysbrack made a bust of Alfred for Frederick, Prince of Wales, in 1736. Alfred was also included in the Temple of British Worthies at Stowe ca. 1735, N. Pevsner, *Buckinghamshire* (Buildings of England), London, 1960, p. 258.

239. H. H. to Lord Bruce, Dec. 4, 1762. T(TOT).

240. From the British point of view!

241. The present inscription on Alfred's Tower. There is another MS version which is longer. T(ST) 383.907.

242. H. H. to Lord Bruce, Nov. 18, 1762. TOT.

243. See M. I. Webb, *Michael Rysbrack*, p. 137. At the

time of Rysbrack's sale the medallion still had the head of the Duke of Cumberland, although now it shows King Alfred. It is of some interest that both Longford Castle, Wiltshire, to which the statue went, and Alfred's Tower are built on a triangular plan, the former being 16th century. See N. Pevsner, *Wiltshire* (Buildings of England), London, 1963, pp. 271ff.

244. May 12, 1764, T(ST) 383.6. Henry Hoare bought five drawings and three bas-reliefs at Rysbrack's sale on Feb. 19, 1766. T(ST) 383.6.

245. Flitcroft died in 1769, Rysbrack in 1770.

others of its time, particularly Painshill, to which it is closely related, and which may owe its inspiration to Vanbrugh's Belvedere²⁴⁶ erected for the Duke of Newcastle at Claremont in 1722. It may be noted that Flitcroft designed the first bridge at Virginia Water about 1750,²⁴⁷ and the Belvedere Tower at Fort Belvedere²⁴⁸ may also have been by him. Henry paid Flitcroft £200 in 1764-1766²⁴⁹ which, according to the ledger, was "for the Temple of Apollo, Alfred's Tower, etc. in full."

For whatever reason, either because he was unable to start in the spring of 1763 or because the work took longer than he anticipated, Alfred's Tower was not completed until 1772.²⁵⁰ The Temple of Apollo, however, had "all its Niches compleat"²⁵¹ by July 6, 1765, and on December 9 Henry was able to write "The Temple of Apollo [Fig. 32] was finished last week & the scaffold all now taking down & it charms everybody."²⁵² The niches were all presumably intended to hold statues. There are only two now, reputed to be by Cheere.²⁵³ The design for this temple was taken from Wood's *Ruins of Balbec* (Fig. 35), which Henry had bought in 1757.²⁵⁴ There are modifications in the Stourhead version and the drum of the rotunda rises above the entablature to form a clerestory. Inside a large gilded sun was originally lit from a dome. This detail was probably not complete in 1765 for the bill for plate glass was not paid until 1766²⁵⁵ and that for the pavement in June 1767.²⁵⁶ The mason was Jelfe,²⁵⁷ whom Henry had employed at Clapham. Privet's name does not appear in the account books after 1755, although in the reference to the stone bridge,²⁵⁸ it is clear he was still employed after that date.

In the letter announcing the completion of the Temple of Apollo Henry continued, "The Cross is now in hand & there are so many pieces that we must I believe employ Harriot to put it together as she is such an adept in joyning the map of the Countys of England. I hope the Dean of Bristol's preferment in the News paper is true."²⁵⁹ The petition for the removal of this cross from its place in Bristol in 1733 has already been mentioned. It was apparently taken down and re-erected, for on August 21, 1762 several workmen were reported to be "raising the walks in College Green and in taking down the High Cross."²⁶⁰ The pieces were deposited for two years in the cathedral when they were presented to Henry Hoare by the Dean, the Very Reverend Cutts Barton, and in October 1764, the materials were dispatched in six wagons to their final resting place in Wiltshire.²⁶¹ The cross was the finishing touch to the "Charmg Gaspd picture" though in truth the mood is nearer to Gray who, moreover, was one of the first to "unite poetry and archaeology"²⁶² and to develop a true understanding and love of the Gothic. The village and the church had always, presumably, been incorporated in the view from the Pantheon, just as Kent had used the mediaeval bridge at Rousham, and Shenstone the Priory ruins and Halesowen spire. Apart from "a greenhouse of false Gothic"²⁶³ this marks the turning away from the Palladian style at Stourhead.²⁶⁴

246. C. Hussey, "Fort Belvedere," *Country Life*, CXXVI, 1959, p. 898.

247. *Ibid.*

248. *Ibid.*

249. June 21, 1764, £100, T(ST) 383.6; June 19, 1766, £100, T(ST) 383.6.

250. Date on the back of a drawing at Stourhead. ST.

251. H. H. to Lord Bruce, July 6, 1765. T(TOT).

252. H. H. to Lady Bruce, Dec. 9, 1765. T(TOT).

253. Payments for sculpture in 1766 included: Apr. 30, "2 statues bought by Mr. Hoare & pd. by Mr. Barton of Mr. Webb . . . £31. 10."; June 5, "Mr. Jn Cheere for Cast of Statues in part . . . £80"; Jan. 22, "Mr. Jn Cheere for statues etc in full of all Demands . . . £153. 2." T(ST) 383.6.

254. See note 109.

255. Jan. 26, 1766, "Jn Burgess for Plate Glass for Temple of Apollo . . . £26. 8." T(ST) 383.6.

256. June 3, 1767, "for the Pavemt. to the Temple of Apollo . . . £33. 3. 7." T(ST) 383.6.

257. Jelfe was paid for the Pantheon pavement on Dec. 14, 1761, T(ST) 383.6, and there is also a payment to him on Oct. 25, 1765 for £45. 10. T(ST) 383.6. The last recorded payment to Privet was on Feb. 4, 1755, "for the Palladian Temple in full." T(ST) 383.6.

258. H. H. to Lady Bruce, Oct. 23, 1762. TOT.

259. H. H. to Lord Bruce, Dec. 9, 1765. T(TOT). Harriot is Henrietta, Susanna's daughter by Dungarvan, who married the first Baron O'Neill of Shanes, Co. Antrim, Oct. 18, 1777.

260. Extracts from *Annals of Bristol* by John Latimer. T(ST) 383.907.

261. *Ibid.*

262. Kenneth Clarke, *The Gothic Revival*, new ed., London, 1950, p. 43.

263. Horace Walpole, *Visits to Country Seats*, p. 43.

264. Walpole's is the first mention of Gothic at Stourhead

Henry Hoare was then in his sixtieth year and as busy as ever, stimulated by other friendships such as that of C. W. Bampfylde²⁶⁵ who from that time appeared regularly in the correspondence with Savernake. "Mr. Bampfild has brought me a sweet picture of His own painting a Delightfull sea and Land view.²⁶⁶ He is now copying the Lucatelli²⁶⁷ behind the door in the Skylight Dressing Room & is in raptures with it & in Ecstasy with His Copy of the Pamphili—says He had rather have it than all the Landscapes He ever saw in His life. I am going to assist the placing of Neptune²⁶⁸ before the Dorick Temple & Capt'n Barton is to preside & I wish the God of the Ocean is not at last drowned in a Duckpond.²⁶⁹ Mr. Hoare will on Monday enrich Bath with 3 of the finest Heads he ever did from my judgement of Hercules." All went well and ten days later Henry wrote:

I had the satisfaction of seeing Neptune & His 4 Naggs (very fine and full of Spirit they are) landed on His Pedestal before the Arch²⁷⁰ under the Dorick Temple before I decamped & it had a very fine appearance there. I also saw the first Story of the Cross put just together & repaired, now the rest will go swimmingly & be done sooner than we expected & the foundation of Stone is finished & the pavement forming round it, also round the Temple of Apollo & I have made the passage up from the Sousterrain²⁷¹ Serpentine & will make it easier of access facilis descensus Averno.²⁷² Messrs. Bampfild & Hoare have made an ingenious model for the Cascade²⁷³ like Mr. Bampfild's & as I have stone Quarries on the Hill just above it I hope to finish it soon in the summer. If your Lordship makes any Bricks near you I wish you could learn how much they fairly cost per Thousand. Mr. Short sent me 2 Brickmakers & they are now at work & I luckily found some excellent good Earth very handy.²⁷⁴

Perhaps it was the death of his old friend Flitcroft, or perhaps just the passage of time, which led to the change in the character of Henry's buildings. The Convent (Fig. 42), although there is no date for it, seems associated with Alfred's Tower, an almost manic gesture of withdrawal to the deepest recesses of the valley.²⁷⁵ Neither is related to the inner circuit of the lake. Here, rather belatedly, Henry followed the fashion and introduced a Hermitage in 1771, appropriately enough in the last stages of the journey. From the letter he wrote to Harriot²⁷⁶ we can detect the hand of Hamilton who at Painshill had gone so far as to hire a hermit.

It is such an Age since we corresponded (I fear I owed you a Letter) that it seems to me as if the Golden Age was revived. I shall on Tuesday next send over to Tottenham Park 35 strong good Fruiting pine plants & each will have a Pot in case they should be sick in their journey & I shall gladly accept some West India plants when our Dearest Lord abounds in Them. . . . I am building a Hermitage above the Rock & when you are about a Quarter part up the Walk from the Rock to the Temple of Apollo you turn short to the right & so zig zag up to it & thence go under The Trees to the Temple of Apollo as Mr. Hamilton advised. & We stop or plant up in Clumps the old Walk up the Hill to that Temple. It is to be

(1762). The Convent is described in Mrs. Lybbe Powys's diary of 1776, in which she also describes the greenhouse as having "inside black gravel mixed with mortar" (*Passages from the Diaries of Mrs. Lybbe Powys*, E. J. Climençon, ed., London, 1889, p. 169). This is similar to the treatment of the inside of the Convent which could mean that both buildings are roughly the same date, i.e., ca. 1760.

265. Coplestone Warre Bampfylde, 1719-1791, of Hestercombe, near Taunton; painter, architect, landscape gardener, collector. Bampfylde's landscape at Hestercombe included an ingenious cascade, falling from a height among rocks and descending to a series of ponds. On the opposite hillside was a small Doric temple containing an urn with the inscription:

Carolo K Tynthe Barte et Henrico Hoare Arm.
Diu spectatae memor amicitiae
Hanc Urnam sacram esse voluit
C. Warre Bampfylde
MDCCLXXXVI
Animae quales neque candidiores
Terra tulit, neque quis me sit devinctior alter.

This quotation from Horace *Satires* 1. 5, thus equates Henry Hoare with Virgil, of whom Horace was speaking. The fea-

tures at Hestercombe still exist at the time of writing, but the temple has been damaged by tree-felling and the urn is overturned.

266. Possibly an oval picture called *A Bay*, although this is dated 1766. ST.

267. The Lucatellis listed in Colt Hoare's *History of Wiltshire* are two upright landscapes on the staircase; a landscape in the music room; and two large landscapes (after originals of Claude Lorrain in the Pamphili Palace).

268. There is no record or trace of this statue.

269. Possibly a reference to the original tank or pond on the map of 1722.

270. Over Paradise Well.

271. This is presumably the tunnel under the Zeals road, but it might mean the Grotto. See note 134.

272. Cf. note 134.

273. On the south side of the second lake, below the dam.

274. H. H. to Lord Bruce, Dec. 23, 1765. T(TOT). The bricks were possibly for Alfred's Tower.

275. Cf. also the conjunction of Obelisk/Grotto, Temple of Apollo/Sousterrain and the relative positions of Augustus and Cleopatra.

276. See note 259.

lined inside & out with old Gouty nobbly oakes, the Bark on, which Mr. Groves & my neighbours are so kind to give me & Mr. Chapman a clergyman showed me one yesterday called Judge Wyndham's seat which I take to be of the Year of Our Lord 1000 & I am not quite sure it is not Anti Diluvian. I believe I shall put in to be myself The Hermit.²⁷⁷

Although mainly of wood this feature, as can be seen from Piper's drawing (Fig. 33), had the same calculated effects as the Grotto (Fig. 23) of which, in plan, it is a serpentine version. It was possibly this that led him to alter the character of the earlier structure by adding the rocky entrance.²⁷⁸

Meanwhile Henry steadily increased his picture collection²⁷⁹ and in the same letter describing the Hermitage he recorded further acquisitions. "I shall be impatient to see your Drawing after the fine Head of St. Cecilia. I have some pictures here of Monsr La Grennee²⁸⁰ which he painted for Duke Choiseul who would not take them tho bespoken, because he was banished & They are universally & highly admired. . . . Mrs. Bampfylde has sent me some of Her work a Pheasant & Lapwing & Yellow Ham Still Life most wonderfully fine, a Gold frame & plate glass is ordered for it. By Lord Arundells [advice] I have wrote to Monsr Vernet for 2 picture of His, a Storm and Moon Shine £200 each in value & He most politely answers He will lay aside all work to go directly on with them for my friend."²⁸¹ Henry's interest in Vernet was an extension of his abiding landscape passion and in particular for the paintings of Claude and his successors. Vernet was almost exactly the same age as Wilson, had been in Rome during Wilson's first year there, and is reputed to have been one of the first to recognize Wilson's quality as a landscape painter.²⁸² By 1771 he was a leading French painter, as Sir John Lambert emphasized when he wrote²⁸³ enclosing the painter's receipt and explaining that he had not deducted his commission out of the money paid to Vernet, a thing he would not do with an artist of his merit, as he had done the pictures under the price Madame Du Barry and others paid him out of particular regard for Henry. There were also, Sir John wrote, two magnificent Claude Lorrains to be had representing "a Marine and a Paysage." They were asking 15,000 livres for them but they might be had for something less.

There are two pictures by Vernet listed by Colt Hoare among those bought by Henry Hoare, a *Sunshine* and a *Moonshine*.²⁸⁴ But from Ingersoll-Smouse's catalogue²⁸⁵ of Vernet's work and

277. H. H. to Harriot, Nov. 30, 1771. T(TOT).

278. See letter below, note 290.

279. Henry Hoare paid Sir John Lambert £695 in 1771 and £52 in 1775; he bought a Cuyp, a Gainsborough and a picture by Angelica Kauffmann in 1773, FS (Acc.). There is further mention of Angelica Kauffmann in the accounts of 1779, FS (Acc.), and in letters to Lord Bruce June 5, 1779 and to Lady Bruce Aug. 28, 1779, TOT. He was also a great collector of prints up to the end of his life. Among print-makers mentioned in the accounts are Hogarth (1757), Robert Strange (1759-1760), Vivares (1761-1768) and Woollet (1771). He also paid Vivares for one hundred Stourhead prints after drawings by Bampfylde in 1777.

280. L. J. F. Lagrenée (1725-1805). There are five paintings at Stourhead, said to have been bought by Colt Hoare.

281. H. H. to Harriot, Nov. 30, 1771. T(TOT).

282. C. R. Leslie, *Memoirs of the Life of John Constable*, Phaidon ed., London 1951, p. 321.

283. Sir John Lambert to H. H., Aug. 20, 1772. T(ST) 383.907.

284. Schedule of Pictures as left by Henry Hoare, T(ST) 383.9. In the *History of Modern Wiltshire*, p. 181, Colt Hoare lists a *Storm at Sea* by Vernet, with the initials R. C. H. indicating that he bought it. The *Catalogue of the Sale of Stourhead Heirlooms*, 1883, lists two pictures by Vernet, a *Day* and a *Night*.

285. F. Ingersoll-Smouse, *Joseph Vernet*, Paris, 1926:

I, p. 55, Nos. 238-241. "Quatre tableaux, ch. toile de quatre palmes (0,75; 0,95). Commandés par M.H. . . . [Hoare!]" 1749.

II, p. 11, No. 831. "*Naufrage à midi*. H. 25 inches; L. 38 inches (0,625; 0,95). Commandé à Vernet des Oct. 1765. Voy. la lettre de M. Parker, probablement adressé à Sir Henry Hoare le 12 Oct. 1765. Coll. Hoare, Stourhead (Cat. of the Hoare Library at Stourhead, London, 1840, p. 749) Coll. Sir Henry Hoare, Zeals, Wiltshire."

Probably a repetition of *Tempête à midi*, I, p. 92, one of four "marines commandées par M. Journu, Bordeaux, en 1759."

II, p. 14, No. 860. "*Marine*, signé: J. Vernet, 1767. Ovale. H. 0,82; L. 1,04. Commandé avec le no. suivant par M. Henry Hoare, de Fleet Street, en 1766 (C.219) et payé en mars 1767 au prix de deux mille quatre cents livres le deux. Coll. Hoare, Stourhead (Cat. of the Hoare Library of Stourhead, London, 1840, p. 742) Coll. P. Cailleux, Paris. No. 861. *Clair de lune*. Ovale, H. 2. pieds 4 pouces; L. 3 pieds. Même histoire que le no. précédent. Vente Sir Henry Hoare, London, 1883 (Le 'Jour' et la 'Nuit,' datés 1769, Vendus £99 a Grindlay. En ce qui nous concerne la 'Nuit,' on a évidemment mal lu le dernier chiffre de la date)."

II, p. 17, No. 892. "Soleil couchant: 'le disque en plein dans le tableau: Quelques fabriques, c'est-à-dire quelque mole.' Ovale. H. 2 pieds 6 pouces ½; L. 3 pieds 2 pouces 3 lignes (0,81; 1,03). Commandé en 1767, aux prix de mille deux cents livres par M. Hoare (C. 232) et payé 13 juin 1769

Henry Hoare's accounts²⁸⁶ it is clear that he bought more. As to the details the evidence is conflicting. Ingersoll-Smouse lists four paintings which Vernet made for Henry, a *Marine* and a *Clair de lune* ordered in 1766 and paid for in 1767; a *Soleil couchant* ordered in 1767 and paid for in 1769; and *Naufrage à midi*, which she assumes to be the painting referred to by Vernet's father-in-law when he wrote to Henry Hoare in 1765 saying "if you have a desire for your picture soon I shall take it as a great favour you will honour me with the Soliciting it for you and if you have not chose any particular subject leave it to me."²⁸⁷ To complicate matters the *Naufrage*, which is the only Vernet at Stourhead, is listed by Colt Hoare, in the *History of Modern Wiltshire*, as among those which he bought himself. If this is a mistake or a misprint and the *Naufrage* is the *Storm* referred to in Henry's letter, then Vernet provided for Henry the link between the Claudian idyll and the image so often to be repeated in romantic painting, and which he himself used to express anxiety.²⁸⁸

Henry Hoare was sixty-seven when Alfred's Tower was finished, with thirteen more years of life, and grandchildren to share his enthusiasm. "I am upon the entrance to the Grotto to get it finished before you arrive," he told his daughter. "It is a spot of such Romantick Pleasure as to strike everybody & nothing here ever delighted me so much. I hope we shall be lucky in giving this finishing stroke to it. The Dear Charles²⁸⁹ has shook off his cold & trudges down to Mary Fangoin's with his Wagon twice a Day & has found The Easy path to and from it."²⁹⁰ "Thank God they are all fine & well & now make nothing of walking round the Gardens & I mounted The Tower Thursday with the Dear Children. They are vastly delighted with this spot. The Temple of the Nymph is all enchantment to Them & the Cross now new painted fills them with rapture."²⁹¹

But life was also overshadowed by the "bad news from Boston."²⁹² "I hope Quebec will not be attacked again before our reinforcement arrives. God only knows how that War will end, kindled and enflamed by the Vipers in our own Bosom."²⁹³

Colt Hoare's memories of his grandfather must date from about that time. "Although for many years he [Henry] led a rational and rural life, it was by no mean a solitary one—his house was open to both friends and strangers—and the artist was always an acceptable guest."²⁹⁴ One of the chief was still William Hoare. "Mr. Hoare is copying the Andromeda as big as life only mine is larger than Life. It promises to be a fine picture & is for Adelphi Harry."²⁹⁵ The latter brought with him his friend David Garrick. "Gracious what a Figure of Fun is here. Mr. Garrick has not His fellow for Private as well as Publick entertainment."²⁹⁶

Henry's interest in the sale rooms was unabated. "The Duke of Rutland was not compos mentis when he let Sr. Jos. Reynolds outwit him in buying a N. Poussin for 50—worth 500£. He can find it seems Gold sooner than Water, 260 feet deep already, puts me in mind of Beckford saying he would bore through the Earth to the Antipodes & see what the Blacks were about."²⁹⁷ The Bampfylde's were in the southwest that year where Mr. Bampfylde had taken "20 views of

(R. 142). Puis² (R. 143) un mois après, M. Henry Hoare m'a envoyé en présent, pour me marquer combien il a été satisfait du tableau que je lui ai fait, encore mille deux cents livres."

Vente Sir Henry Hoare (Stourhead heirlooms), 2 juin 1883, Londres (avec le no. 861: le 'Jour' et la 'Nuit,' datés 1769, vendu £99 a Grindlay).

The dates on Henry Hoare's letter to Harriot, Nov. 30, 1771, T(TOT), and the letter from Sir John Lambert, Aug. 20, 1772, T(ST) 383.907, are beyond dispute, so either some of the above dates are wrong or the letters refer to more pictures, which is unlikely.

286. Feb. 15, 1766, T(ST) 383.6; Apr. 25, 1767, July 9, 1769, Aug. 9, 1769, FS(Acc.); 1770 "charges of a picture by Vernet," T(ST) 383.6.

287. M. Parker to H. H., Oct. 12, 1765. T(ST). 383.907.

288. Cf. H. H. to Lord Bruce, Sept. 16, 1779. TOT. See note 299. See also T. S. R. Boase, "Shipwrecks in English Romantic Painting," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, XXII, 1959, p. 332.

289. Grandson; younger son of Lord Bruce.

290. H. H. to Lady Bruce, May 1, 1776? There is no year on this letter but it is among others of 1776. TOT.

291. H. H. to Lord Bruce, May 11, 1776. TOT.

292. H. H. to Lord Bruce, May 6, 1776. TOT.

293. H. H. to Lord Bruce, May 13, 1776. TOT.

294. R. Colt Hoare, ms book of Memoirs. ST.

295. H. H. to Lady Bruce, Aug. 28, 1779. TOT.

296. H. H. to Lord Bruce, Aug. 7, 1776. TOT.

297. H. H. to Lord Bruce, June 5, 1779. TOT.

the Coast of North Devon.”²⁹⁸ There were rumors of naval action and Bampfylde had written in September that the combined fleet were seen off the Lizard. “The accos. are so various,” wrote Henry “we are tossed in a Sea of Troubles & uncertainty & kept in Hot Water & I pray God to deliver us.”²⁹⁹ Added to this there was turnip blight. “I called in Mr. Farr yesterday. He says there are Thousands of Insects in the roots of those that are blighted. I wish your Lordship to order Them to be examined, tho I do not doubt the Truth of it no more than I do the enclosed Relation of the Electrifyg Eele. I am afraid to enquire after the News & wish to think of Politicks and Partys no more.”³⁰⁰ These worries and the fact of being old turned his mind to the succession. His nephew Richard, Colt’s father, had married³⁰¹ again after Ann’s death. As next senior to Henry in the partnership, he looked forward to succession as owner of the business and the premises in Fleet Street and of the now famous Stourhead estate. But Henry had decided otherwise, and when Colt Hoare proposed marriage to Hester Lyttelton³⁰² (niece to that Lyttelton with whom William Shenstone had so frequently discussed gardening in Worcestershire) he announced that he intended making his grandson his heir. This caused consternation among his nephews, for it meant that not only Stourhead but the Fleet Street premises where the business was conducted would pass to Colt Hoare. This, Richard’s brother considered, was “most base and treacherous conduct,”³⁰³ “contrary to Faith, Honor and Justice”;³⁰⁴ “it was subverting the order of Nature, Right and Justice to have the Father dependent on the will of the Son and the Uncle of the Nephew.”³⁰⁵ The shocked tones of this account, and the strong feeling aroused by Henry’s intention are reminiscent of his own twenty-four years earlier when faced with the perfidious behavior of Lord and Lady Corke. It was perhaps reasonable that he should leave Stourhead to his grandson, his only direct descendant; but in depriving his nephew of the Fleet Street premises he was acting in accordance with his feeling and, as it were, introducing matrilinear descent into a patriarchal world. “Right and Justice” were not “the order of Nature” but perilously held concepts too easily forgotten. Henry was surprised at his nephews’ reaction. He explained

that he had by long application to business . . . improved and considerably increased his Estates and had formed a Beautiful Place; that his idea was that it was right for the Possessor of that Place to enjoy all the Estates about it in order to support it properly. . . . He had seen for some time past the Progress of this Nation’s Ruin, and could not tell how soon it might happen. By leaving the House and Estates to Colt he thought it was the same as leaving them to his father . . . by doing this he secured to his Grandson an estate of £6,000 p.a., with a Fine House and Place, let any Public Calamity Happen, as he did not mean he should continue in the Banking Business when he came into the possession of his Real Estates. In his state the Place was more Pain than Pleasure to him and he should resign it with the Estates with Pleasure to Colt and could finish the remainder of his Days at Clapham, living on his Income from Business, free from Care and Vexation.³⁰⁶

Henry, however, was “much struck” by his nephew’s arguments and agreed to a compromise whereby Richard kept the premises in Fleet Street as well as the house and stables where he lived.

Colt Hoare married Hester Lyttelton in 1783, thus uniting the families of Hagley and Stourhead. Henry Hoare retired to Clapham where having outlived Susanna,³⁰⁷ his last surviving child, he died in 1785, two weeks after Colt’s wife, Hester. Colt was so upset that he left his infant son and went to the continent, where, with the exception of a few months in 1787, he stayed for six years.³⁰⁸ When he returned to Stourhead, driven home by the French Revolution, he set about

298. H. H. to Lord Bruce, July 17, 1779. TOT.

299. H. H. to Lord Bruce, Sept. 16, 1779. TOT.

300. H. H. to Lord Bruce, Sept. 28, 1779. T(TOT).

301. Frances Acland.

302. Eldest daughter of Lord Westcote, youngest brother of Sir George Lyttelton, Henry Hoare’s friend and fellow gardener at Hagley, d. 1773, see note 67.

303. An account of this scene in a MS by Henry Hoare’s

nephew, Henry Hoare (1744-1785), known as “Fat Harry.” T(ST) 383.912.

304. *Ibid.*

305. *Ibid.*

306. *Ibid.*

307. Susanna died in February, 1783.

308. R. E. Sandell, “Sir Richard Colt Hoare,” *The Wiltshire Magazine*, CCIX, 1961, p. 1.

adding a library and picture gallery to the house, and making alterations to its immediate surroundings. The details of these, as well as his own contribution to the collection at Stourhead,³⁰⁹ belong to another chapter of the history of taste. He did little to Henry's garden except to remove certain buildings,³¹⁰ in order "to render the design of these gardens as chaste and correct as possible, and to give them the character of an Italian villa."³¹¹ Subsequent planting of exotics, particularly rhododendron, has done far more to change the garden's character.

It is hardly possible to point to one feature in which Stourhead is original, and yet it has a quality which is unique, due to the intimate connection between an individual and a place, a subtle interplay between the human psyche and the landscape on a scale unlikely to occur again. It cannot strictly be compared with the work of the great professionals, like Lancelot Brown, who were both more influential and more academic. What Stourhead and Brown's landscapes had in common was the influence of Kent.

When Colt Hoare succeeded to his inheritance, a society geared to the slow rhythms of agriculture had already begun to change. A symbol other than the Golden Age of Claude and Poussin was needed, and this another generation of painters was creating. Henry created a space in which movement was not only possible but necessary, even though in reality he would probably have had it otherwise. In doing so, intentionally or not, he recorded his journey through life from the Temple of the Mother to that of the Hero and eventually to the Temple of Apollo, builder, colonizer and God of Light.

The future of the country in which he only saw ruin might be regarded as one of unprecedented prosperity were it not for the "dark satanic mills." But then William Blake's call for a new Jerusalem was not really for a new architecture but a state of mind of which the world we build is only a reflection.

Opposite the portrait of Henry the Magnificent on a horse (Fig. 44) in the hall at Stourhead, is one of Colt Hoare (Fig. 46). He stands in the landscape, holding a water-color drawing in one hand and supporting a portfolio with the other. His son, a delicate fresh-faced boy in a brown suit, touches his arm and points beyond the picture. The son did not survive the father and with him the direct line of the creators of Stourhead was extinguished.³¹²

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309. See St. John Gore, "A Worthy Heir to Greatness," *Country Life*, CXXXV, 1964, p. 278.

310. Mainly those near the entrance and on the hillside below the terrace, including the temple (Fig. 40). See Piper's plan (Fig. 3).

311. Colt Hoare, *History of Modern Wiltshire*, I, p. 66.

312. I am grateful to the National Trust, particularly to Mr. J. Kenworthy-Browne, Mr. F. St. John Gore, Mr. G. Noel, for help and for permission to use material belonging to them. Mr. H. P. R. Hoare, besides permitting the use of records at Messrs. Hoare and Co. in Fleet Street, has also contributed much useful comment and information. I have to thank the Marquess of Ailesbury for giving me access to his collection of family letters; and the County Record Office Trowbridge and the Devizes Museum, particularly Mr. M. G.

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